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THE SOUTH SEMITIC ALPHABETS.

	Ethiopic.	Himyaritic.	Arabic.	Transliteration.
1	Hōi	ሀ	ه	<i>h</i>
2	Lāwē	ለ	ل	<i>l</i>
3	Hāut	ሐ	ح	<i>h</i>
4	Māi	መ	م	<i>m</i>
5	Šāut	ሠ	ش	<i>š</i>
6	Re'es	ረ	ر	<i>r</i>
7	Sāt	ሰ	س	<i>s</i>
8	Qāf	ቀ	ق	<i>q</i>
9	Bēt	በ	ب	<i>b</i>
10	Tāwi	ተ	ت	<i>t</i>
11	Ḥarm	ከ	ح	<i>h</i>
12	Naḥās	ከ	ع	<i>n</i>
13	'Alf	አ	ا	<i>'</i>
14	Kāf	ከ	ك	<i>k</i>
15	Wāwē	ወ	و	<i>w'</i>
16	'Āin	ዐ	ع	<i>'</i>
17	Zāi	ሐ	ز	<i>z</i>
18	Yamān	የ	ي	<i>y</i>
19	Dant	ደ	د	<i>d</i>
20	Gaml	ገ	ج	<i>g</i>
21	Tait	ጠ	ط	<i>t</i>
22	Pāit	፳	—	<i>p</i>
23	Ṣadāi	፳	ص	<i>s</i>
24	Zappā	፳	ظ	<i>z</i>
25	Af	፲	ف	<i>f</i>
26	Pa	—	—	<i>p^s</i>
27		፳	ث	<i>θ</i>
28		ዘ	ذ	<i>ḏ</i>
29		ዘ	ظ	<i>ḏ</i>
30		፲	ر	<i>r</i>
31		፳	—	<i>s</i>

THE ORIGIN OF THE HIMYARITIC.

	Dorian Greek, <i>circa</i> 650 B.C.	Himyaritic.	Phœnician.
Alpha	Α	𐩇	𐤀
Beta	Β	𐩈 <i>m.</i>	𐤁
Gamma	Γ	𐩉	𐤂
Delta	Δ	𐩊	𐤃
Epsilon	Ε	—	𐤄
Fau	Ϝ	—	𐤅
Zeta	Ζ	—	𐤆
Eta	Η	—	𐤇
Theta	Θ	—	𐤈
Iota	Ι	𐩋	𐤉
Kappa	Κ	𐩌	𐤊
Lambda	Λ	𐩍	𐤋
Mu	Μ	𐩎 <i>b.</i>	𐤌
Nu	Ν	𐩏	𐤍
Ksi	Ξ	—	𐤎
Omikron	Ο	𐩐	𐤏
Pi	Π	𐩑	𐤐
San	Ϻ	𐩒	𐤑
Koppa	Ϟ	𐩓	𐤒
Rho	Ρ	𐩔	𐤓
Sigma	Σ	𐩕	𐤔
Tau	Τ	𐩖	𐤕
Upsilon	Υ	—	—
Phi	Φ	𐩗	—
Khi	Ψ	𐩘	—

PROCEEDINGS
OF
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OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION, 1907.

First Meeting, January 9th, 1907.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., *F.S.A. (Vice-President)*,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From Prof. A. H. Sayce, *D.D.*—"Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan." Edited by A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley.

(Plates and Text loose in a large Portfolio.)

From the Author, the Rev. Dr. Heyes.—"Bibel und Ägypten."

From the Author, Prof. G. V. Schiaparelli.—"Venusbeobachtungen und Berechnungen."

The Rev. A. B. Preston, Finchley Lane, Hendon,

Mr. C. J. Fraser, Hakodate, Japan,

were elected Members of the Society.

The Council's Report for 1906, and the Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, were formally presented to the Meeting.

The following Resolutions were proposed and seconded and unanimously agreed to :—

That the Council's Report and the Statement of Accounts be received and adopted, and be issued with the next Part of the *Proceedings*.

That thanks be returned to the Council and Officers for their services during the past year.

That the Council and Officers be re-elected for the ensuing year.

COUNCIL, 1907.

President.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, D.D., &c., &c.

Vice-Presidents.

THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

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Honorary Secretary for Foreign Correspondence—F. LEGGE.

Honorary Librarian—WALTER L. NASH, M.R.C.S. (*Eng.*), F.S.A.

The following Paper was read :—

Miss M. A. MURRAY : “St. Menas of Alexandria.”

With Lantern-slide Illustrations.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

Mr. OFFORD exhibited a MS. volume, written partly in Hebrew and partly in Arabic, called “The writing of Joseph the Seer,” consisting of magical formulæ.

THE COUNCIL'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1906.

The beginning of the Thirty-seventh Session of the Society finds us with a heavier death roll than usual, no fewer than thirteen Members having been removed by death since the Council's last Report. Among these may be specially mentioned Mr. John Edward Gilmore, K.C., who of late years was in the habit of spending the winter in Egypt, where he collected many fragments of Bibles and lectionaries in Coptic. Many of these relics of a fast vanishing literature were of considerable importance, and attention may be specially drawn to the Sahidic fragments published by him in the *Proceedings* of 1898, which include readings of the Pauline epistles not to be found elsewhere. We also have to deplore the death of Mr. R. P. Greg, a numismatist of distinction, who no later than last year was a contributor to the Society's Donation Fund.

In addition to these losses, the Council regret the resignation, from various causes, of five Members. This is more than compensated by the election of eight new ones, but the balance is against the Society, which now numbers 400 Members as against 410 at the presentation of the last Report. Although, as will be seen, this is mainly due to a greater loss by death than in former years, the Council cannot but view any falling off in our numbers with apprehension, and would call upon the Members to do all they can to obtain recruits. It cannot be too often impressed upon everybody concerned that all the services of the Society's officials are rendered without remuneration, and that intending Members may therefore calculate upon receiving the fullest value for their subscriptions. But the Society is reaching the critical period of its existence, and as all those who were interested in its foundation are in the course of nature passing away, it is only by the discovery of new Members given to the same studies, that its traditions can be worthily maintained. In this alone the Members of the Society have not, perhaps, supported the Council so well as they might have done, most candidates of late having been obtained by the officials. It needs no demonstration that if every present Member could induce at least one personal friend to offer himself or herself for election during the forthcoming year, the activity and usefulness of the Society would be at least doubled.

The Society's financial position continues to improve, and the Council is glad to announce that they this year carry forward a sum of £148 12s. 10d. as against £102 16s. 9d. brought forward last year. As before, this has been entirely due to the strict and rigid economy practised by the Secretary, Dr. Nash, to whom the warmest thanks of both the Council and the Members are felt to be due. In spite of frequent donations from authors and others, the Library requires renewing by the addition of several expensive works necessary to maintain its efficiency, and only obtainable by purchase, and the expenditure is therefore likely to be increased in the near future.

The Papers read before the Society during the last year are at least as valuable as in former years, and the Council would particularly draw attention to the fact that Profs. Lieblein (of Christiania), Loret (of Lyon), D. H. Müller (of Vienna), P. Pierret and E. Revillout (of Paris) and Valdemar Schmidt (of Copenhagen), have during the last year contributed to the *Proceedings*. Help from foreign scholars of such reputation is, it is felt, the best testimony that can be afforded of the esteem which the Society enjoys on the Continent.

THE CHEDOR-LAOMER TABLETS.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*

Continued from "Proceedings," Vol. XXVIII, p. 251.)

NOTES.

A. OBV. 1-3. The restorations are from REV. 32-35. For 4, 5 see REV. 7, 8, 14.

6. For the restoration see W.A.I., V, 6, 73, which seems a parallel passage.

7. "The Grand Gate" is placed by Professor Hommel on the south-east side of the great court of E-Saggil, the temple of Merodach at Babylon; see his plan, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, p. 321.

8. "The door of Istar" was probably that which led from the great or outer court of the temple into the second court, that of Istar and Zamama.

Ales from *âlû*, Sumerian *galla* "a demon," more especially the demon of the south wind.

9. Gurra, the plague-god. There is a play upon *Gurra la-gamil* and *Kudur-lakhhamar*, the name of the Elamite deity being derived from the Assyrian La-gamal.

10. Dû-makh, "the supreme chamber" of Bel, was the sanctuary of E-Saggil.

12. *Magritum* from the same root as *egirtum*.

13, 14. In *sullah* and *šukhkhah* the final *h* corresponds with the pausal 𐤔 of Hebrew, as in Gen. xxxix, 7. *Sullah* is the imperative of the causative of *elû*. *Šakkê* is more usually *šukké*.

15. The "lower canal" would be the Arakhtu, in contradistinction from the more northern Libil-khegal.

17, 18. For these lines see REV. 17 and 2. Ê-Sarra, "the House of the Host" of heaven, here evidently means E-Saggil. It is more usually the title of the temple of In-aristi at Nippur.

Yurrid, literally "descended," *i.e.*, came down from his post as guardian of the gate, and departed.

20. "The Judge" must here be a title of Merodach in reference to the *partsi* or "laws" of the preceding line.

As in the Jewish temple, it would seem that the sanctuary was shut off from the eyes of the profane by a veil.

21. Ennun-dagalla, "guard of the broad place" (*natsir ribi*), must signify Merodach. For *dagalla*, cp. 80-11-12, 185, 6, where Ammi-ditana calls himself *lugal daga[la] mada Martu-ki* "king of the broad region of the land of the Amorites."

22. The use of the plural *ilâni* for the singular *ilu* is very interesting, as it is parallel with the Hebrew use of *elohim*. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the Pharaoh is called *ilani-ya* "my god(s)," but this has been regarded as a Canaanitism. For "clothed with light" cp. Ps. civ, 2.

24. *Ukkis raman-su* literally "stayed himself." *Nakâsu* is connected with *nukusu*, on which see Delitzsch, *Hwb.*, p. 466. *Nakâsu* (= *nadû*, *khalâlum*, *suzukhu*, *kabâtum*, *našarum*, *Cuneiform Texts*, XII, 21, 37485) seems to be a different word.

25. The *nišakku* is "a sacrificing priest," who took precedence of the libation-pourers, anointers, and other classes of priests.

28, 29. It is not clear whether we are to translate: "[Fear not] to remove the crown of Merodach; [thou shalt enter] his temple, thou shalt take his hand," or "[Fearest thou not] to remove the crown of M.? [Wilt thou enter] his temple, wilt thou take his hand." To "take the hand" of Merodach was to become his adopted son, and thereby be acknowledged by the priesthood legitimate ruler of the land. It would seem that the crown of the god—which was a multiple tiara, hence the plural *agê*—was taken off his head at the same time and placed on that of his adopted son, the vicegerent who governed for him on earth.

33. In W.A.I., II, 38, 13, *katû* follows *asîpu* "the prophet," and is given as the equivalent of *amîl* DUG-GINA, "the man of the strong voice," *i.e.*, "a crier" or "herald."

Napaltum, literally "the widespread thing."

34. The characters *a-sib* are not quite certain, but Dr. Pinches is probably right in seeing in *ahil* the Heb. אהל.

REV. I. *Rabitsu*, "the liar in wait," was the name of an evil demon called *maskim* in Sumerian; see Delitzsch, *Hwb. s.v.* In the legend of the Plague-god we read: Frg. II, Col. I, 6, 7, "[Gur]ra the liar-in-wait at his door (*rabitsu abulli-su*) in the blood of men and girls has set his seat." Cp. Gen. iv, 7, "If thou doest not well, *Khidhdhâth* lies in wait (*robêts*) at the gate." Since the Lier-in-wait appears in the Book of Job as the Accuser, I have ventured to paraphrase *Rabitsu* in this passage by this word. The "liar-in-wait" of Nergal was Isum.

Sulum idibbub "he spoke peace," i.e., welcomed.

5. *Sama* is more probably from *sâmu*, "to settle," "determine," than from *sêmu*, *sâmu*, "to hear." As in the Babylonian story of the Deluge, or in the O.T. prophets, "unrighteousness" brings on the people punishment from heaven.

Akhutum, literally "(foreign) hostility."

6-8. Cp. 2 Sam. vi, 2. "The Lord of hosts that sitteth upon the cherubim" (of the ark).

9. Dr. Pinches has pointed out that *saburni* is the equivalent of *sabrû*.

10. The reading and consequently the precise meaning of *yupaššidhi* (?) are doubtful. Perhaps we should read *yupaššimu*.

14. Another *yunnis*, "he made weak," will not suit here.

15. For *nibkhi* see LAYARD, *Cun. Ins.*, 39, 3, 31; W.A.I., I. 46, VI. 4; V. 60, I. 18.

E-Anna was the temple of Anu at Erech, but here it would more probably denote the chapel of the god which stood in the inner court of E-Saggil along with that of En-lil. Rim-Sin or Eri-Aku, however, in one of his inscriptions, declares that Anu, En-lil and Ea had delivered Erech with its temple of E-Anna into his hands.

19. "The land of Bel" or Babylonia meant originally the land of Bel of Nippur; here it is Bel-Merodach of Babylon who is referred to.

Umman Manda, like *umman Kassî*, "the horde of the Kassites." Delitzsch has shown that *Manda* is *mâdu*, and interchanges with *matti*, "a multitude." Cp. *umman Akkadê mattum*, "the numerous host of Akkad." Hence *umman Manda* is the exact correspondent of the Biblical *Goyyim* in Gen. xiv, 1.

Sumer was Southern Babylonia; see I. 25.

21. Chedor-laomer, accordingly, the king of Elam, was suzerain of the hordes of Kurdistan, whom he summoned to join him in

making war, as did a later king of Elam, Umman-minan, in the time of Sennacherib.

22. E-Zida, the temple of Nebo at Borsippa ; see l. 30.

24. "Him," *i.e.* Chedor-laomer, whose "hordes" were marshalled by the god.

26. The omission of the determinative before Ibi-Tutu may be due to the awkwardness of writing ¶ twice.

Literally "to the southern Sun."

31. *Daummattu* is properly "darkness."

If *Meski's* is the right reading, the only possible explanation is that suggested by Prof. Hommel, that it stands for Mas-ki or Mas, the desert of northern Arabia. But I believe that we ought to read Si-es-ki-is, the Sheshach or Babylon of Jer. xxv, 26 ; li, 41, which in this case would not be an example of "atbash" ; see C, REV. 2.

32. In *émakh* there is a play upon the name of Ê-makh, the temple of Nin-makh or Bilat at Babylon, which has recently been discovered east of the *Qasr* and the Gate of Istar.

4. *Markaš samé* was the name given to the temples of Nippur, Sippara and Larša. Of these, the last alone agrees with what remains of the name of the city, . . UNU-KI. Its capture must have been a matter of importance to the Elamites, since it became the capital of Eri-Aku.

5. I connect *šartam* with *šartēnu*, "chief justice" ; cp. *sutummu*, "public granary," *sattammu*, "superintendent of the granary."

6. For the restoration, see l. 26. The "elders" are contrasted with the "youths" of A, OBV. 11.

8. For *riddi*, "advice," see Jensen : *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, p. 406.

9. Cp. Gen. x, 10 ; xi, 2, where "the land of Shinar" = Kar-Duniyas.

11. *Bit Khabbátam*, "the house of robbery," seems to mean here "the house that has been robbed" and left desolate rather than the house that is occupied by "the wicked" desolator. At all events the parallel passage in Is. xxxiv, 14, 15 describes a place that has been reduced to ruins.

12. *Kharáku*, "to strike with a pointed instrument," commonly used of stone-cutting, must here signify to "strike" or "gnash" the teeth. Cf. the Arabic *kharāqa*, "to tear to pieces."

13. *Inaqqar* is the Arabic *naqara*, "to make a shrill noise."

14. *Nin-[digana]* corresponds with the Lilith of Is. xxxiv, 14.

15. *Tsir-khussu*, "the glittering serpent." It is called "the glittering serpent of the sea" in W.A.I. II, 19, 17; and in W.A.I. II, 24, 10, it is described as "the wicked serpent" (*khulmittum*). Here it is individualised as "the outlaw" or "the wicked one," with the determinative of "man" before *khabbatum*. This brings us near the conception of an evil being, half serpent, half man.

16. *Nunnu* has the determinative of "wood" here; in W.A.I. II, 7, 27, it denotes an object made of "copper." The word seems to be borrowed from the Sumerian *nun*, which was represented in the primitive picture writing of Babylonia by a tree or branch.

20. *Dhur-makh*, borrowed by Semitic Babylonian under the form of *dhurmakhu* (W.A.I. II, 31, 13.) "the supreme bond," is given as a synonym of "king" in W.A.I. II, 31, 8. Perhaps the name is to be read as Sumerian *Dhurmakh-dimmerene*, but the spelling AN-ME makes this improbable. Whether we should read *Sar-ilani* or *Dhurmakh-ilani* is, however, doubtful.

22, 23. In opposition to the march of the enemy, the king of Babylon, who has been predestined like Cyrus to overthrow the foe and rule over Babylonia, is called upon to "march."

24. The death of Nergal was believed to have taken place in Kisleu, that of Tammuz in Tammuz (W.A.I. III, 55, 32, 37). Hence the ceremonies which were "performed" were probably of a funereal character. At any rate, they must have been connected with the winter and summer solstices on the 21st of December and the 21st of June.¹²

25, 27. The identification of the word *kali* (Sumerian *zurra*) in these lines is due to Dr. Pinches.

C. OBV. 8. That Borsippa has to be supplied here results from B 20; *cp.* A. REV. 30.

9. The construction of this line is furnished by REV. 3.

10. The reading *ik-bu-(?)si* is certainly wrong; I gather from Dr. Pinches that the characters are not sufficiently clear to be determined with certainty. At the beginning of the line something like "because that" seems to be required.

11. Dr. Pinches suggests that the name was *Gazza[ni]*, since an

¹² It must also be remembered that the images of the goddess *Gudhuna* and her sister *MI-US-SAR* were taken on the 11th of Tammuz from E-Saggil to E-Zida, where they spent the night, and that on the 3rd of Kisleu the images of the goddesses *Gumbaba* and *Guzal-surra* were similarly taken for the night from E-Zida to E-Saggil (Hommel: *Grundriss der Geographie*, p. 337.)

unpublished tablet connects this name with the country of Lulubi and "the land of Khalwan," the modern Holwan, in the part of the Babylonian world from which the Manda hordes came.

12. I have suggested Sippara here, since this was the frontier-fortress which defended Babylon on the north, in the direction from which the Manda would naturally have advanced, as Cyrus did in later days. The possession of Sippara and Borsippa gave the enemy the command of the two canals which regulated the overflow of the Euphrates at Babylon, and would thus have enabled them to flood the city. Moreover the temple of Anunit was at Sippara. In REV. 2, Borsippa is conjoined with Akkad, which took its name from the city of Akkad, a suburb of Sippara, which Professor Hommel identifies with "Sippar of Anunit." If he is right, we should have to substitute Akkad for Sippar at the beginning of the line.

REV. 1. Akha is mentioned in conjunction with Babylon and Borsippa in Reisner: *Sumerische Hymnen* 28, and is the equivalent of the Semitic Subâru in *Cuneiform Texts*, xvi, 6, 240; see Hommel: *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte*, p. 252.

Mat Rabbâtum is more probably "land of the capital" than "the Great Land." At any rate, the next line shows that only northern Babylonia (Akkad) is meant. In W.A.I., II, 47, 15, Rabita, a loan word from the Semitic, is given as the Sumerian pronunciation of the ideograph of *edinna* ("the plain of Babylonia") in the sense of "lands" (*matâtî*). *Rabita* may bear the same relation to Rabbâtu that *ibila* bears to the Semitic *abilu* (*ablu*), from which it was borrowed by the Sumerians.

2. See notes on A. REV. 31, and in C. OBV. 12.

4. *Ilki* from *lâkû*, "to be weak," whence *lakû*, "a weakling." Dr. Pinches is doubtless right in reading here *a-nu-tu*, "these," for *annutu*.

5. Cp. the Creation-legend, iv, 127: *eli ilani kamutum tsibitta-su yudannin*, "(Merodach) strengthened his watch over the gods (his) prisoners."

9, 10. That is, a Penitential Psalm was recited with its stock phrases, "may (his anger) return to its place," etc.

Ya-nis, which may also be read *i-nis(i)*, is explained by *i-ni-[si]* in line 7.

12. The last words of the text have been already explained by Dr. Pinches—"the sinner shall be rooted out." This is the end of the whole matter, the history contained in the poem of which it is

the conclusion being an illustration of the fact. By the sinner is meant, of course, the enemy of Bel-Merodach and his city of Babylon.¹³

All three texts belong to the same late epoch, and the echoes of the Cyrus texts which occur in them suggest that they were composed in the age which saw the extinction of Babylonian independence. In all three cases the same fragment of earlier Babylonian history was worked into them by way of parallel, illustration, warning and encouragement. In A we have the detailed history of the capture and destruction of Babylon and Borsippa by Chedor-laomer and his subject allies; it is ascribed to the unrighteousness of the people which caused Merodach to bring evil upon his city of Babylon and Nebo to forsake his city of Borsippa. The lesson of the poem is thus similar to that inculcated by the Jewish prophets, and the moral intended by it was probably that as the fall of Babylon in old days was due to the sins of its inhabitants, so its present conquest by Cyrus ought to be ascribed to the same cause. In text B the history of Chedor-laomer and his allies is associated with the festivals of the two solstices and with magical ceremonies, the exact nature and relation of which it is impossible to discover owing to the mutilation of the final portion of the text. The story of disaster, however, is here followed by the promise of a Messiah, a king who had been destined to restore his people, and named lord of Babylon "from days everlasting." The parallelism with certain passages in the Old Testament prophets is striking, more especially with those in the Book of Isaiah, in which Cyrus is declared to have been called by name (xlv, 4) and destined to his office "from the beginning" (xlv, 21; xlvi, 10). Similar language is used by Cyrus of himself in his

¹³ Bel-Merodach thus resembles (El-)Elyón (Gen. xiv, 20) "the creator" (like Merodach), rather than "possessor" or "Bel," "of heaven and earth." In-*aristi* (Nin-ip) is called *elu* "the high one," but the Canaanite name is really equivalent to the Ass. (*ilu*) *Tsiru* "the supreme (god)," a title of Bel. Melchizedek should be corrected into Melech-zedek, that is to say, a name like Ammi-zaduq, which would have been written Málík-zadugga in Babylonian. The king of the city (*uru*) of Salem was a *pateši* or "high-priest" like other Babylonian governors and sub-kings at that period. The "tithe" (Gen. xiv, 20) was a Babylonian institution, and would have been paid by Abram (Abi-ramu in a contract tablet) to the god out of the captured spoil. The food and drink offered by the Babylonian *pateši* to Abram were a sign of submission to the conqueror.

cylinder-inscription, ll. 12, 15: "(Merodach) appointed a prince who should guide aright the wish of the heart, whose hand he upholds, even Cyrus the king of Ansan; he has proclaimed his name for sovereignty To the city of Babylon he summoned his march; he bade him take the road to Babylon; like a friend and a comrade he went at his side."

In text C an illustration is given of the punishment of the wicked who have offended Bel-Merodach and done mischief to his land: their end is to be rooted out. All three texts belong to the same age and order of thought as the cylinder-inscription of Cyrus and the Second Isaiah. And the similarity of subject as well as of diction and mode of spelling makes it pretty certain that the three texts are all by the same author.

It is evident that the historical events which he has thrown into a poetical form and invested with a didactic signification were well known to his fellow countrymen. Chedor-laomer, king of Elam, had once conquered Babylonia and sacked Babylon, and had eventually been murdered by his son. The son of Eri-Aku had assisted in the conquest: this fixes the date of the event, since Eri-Aku was a contemporary of Khammu-rabi. Like a later king of Elam in the days of Sennacherib, Chedor-laomer had collected under his banner the vassal hosts of the Manda, or "Nations," and with their help had ravaged the whole of Babylonia. The king of the "Nations," who served under Chedor-laomer, according to Gen. xiv, 1, was Tid'al, a name which, as Dr. Pinches first pointed out, is letter for letter identical with the Tudkhula of the cuneiform texts. Hence in Tudkhula, the associate of Chedor-laomer and the son of Eri-Aku, we must see the king of the Manda.

Now, in the great astrological work which was translated into Greek by Berossos, we have a passage which has hitherto been a puzzle, but which, I believe, the Chedor-laomer texts at last explain. We there read (W.A.I., III, 61, 21-2), "the Manda horde comes and rules the land; the mercy-seats of the great gods are taken away: Bel goes to Elam. It is prophesied that after 30 years a remnant (*tukti*) shall return; the great gods shall go back with them."¹⁴

Dr. Pinches tells me that a duplicate text (Sp. 127) gives *i-[be-]el* for EN-*el* "he rules," omits GAL-MES "great," inserts *ku* after *illak*

¹⁴ Cf. also W.A.I., III, 56, 3, 17. For *tukti*, see *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1897, p. 75. *Iriha tukti* in Nabonidos is "he multiplied the remnant."

and *ana* before *itti* "with," and has the ideographic GUR-MES for *iturru*.

How the conquest of Babylon by the Manda could have caused the god of Babylon to be carried to Elam has hitherto been a mystery. But the Chedor-laomer texts solve it. The Manda were fighting under the command of the Elamite king; he took "the lead at their side." And the astrological text tells us that the rule of the Manda and the Elamites in Babylonia lasted for 30 years.

At least this is the more probable conclusion to be drawn from the passage. It is, of course, possible that "the return of the great gods" means merely a successful invasion of Elam by the Babylonians and the recovery of the images of their divinities. But though the recovery of a single image was no unheard-of event, the recovery of several images was a different matter, and such an interpretation of the text does not harmonise well with the statement that the Manda "rule the land." It is more natural to conclude that the subjection of Babylon to Elam, the suzerain of the Manda, is intended, just as the seventy years of Jeremiah's prophecy (xxv, 11, 12) represented seventy years of subjection to Babylon.

Eri-Aku was the contemporary of Khammu-rabi, and the datings of Khammu-rabi's reign inform us when the subjection of Babylon to Elam came to an end. In the thirtieth year of Khammu-rabi "the forces of Elam" were overthrown; in the following year, "the land of Emutbal and its king Eri-Aku" or "Rim-Sin" were "captured," and in the thirty-second year of the king "the forces of the Ma[nda]" were driven out of the country, and Khammu-rabi ruled over a free and united Babylonia. Counting back thirty years from the defeat of the Elamites, we arrive at Khammu-rabi's first year.

When we compare the datings of the last few years of the reign of his father Sin-muballidh and those of the earlier part of his own reign, we find a remarkable difference between them. The last eleven years of Sin-muballidh were characterised by the construction of fortresses all over the country, at Muru, at Marad, at Dilbat and elsewhere. All this comes suddenly to an end with his death, and in the first two years of Khammu-rabi there was not even the presentation of a gift to a temple to record, while in his eighteenth year came the restoration of "the sanctuary of Bel-Merodach." The long reign of Khammu-rabi makes it probable that he was very young when he ascended the throne, and we may therefore conjecture that Sin-muballidh after preparing for an attack from the


east was defeated and dethroned or killed by Elamite invaders, and that his young son was placed on the throne in his stead as the vassal of the Elamite king.

Who this Elamite king was has now been made known to us by the tablets discovered by Dr. Pinches. He was Kudur-Lakhkhāmar or Chedor-laomer, who led against Babylonia his subject-allies, Tudghula (Tudkhula) or Tid'al, king of the Manda—the "Nations"—and Sar-ilani, the son of Eri-Aku or Arioch. Since Eri-Aku was still king of Emutbal 30 years later his son Sar-ilani would have been acting for him as commander of his forces, just as Belshazzar did in after-days in place of his father Nabonidos. It is noticeable that Sar-ilani is called, not the son of a king like Chedor-laomer, but the son of the daughter of a king, by whom the king of Elam (the father of Chedor-laomer) appears to be meant.

Eri-Aku was the son of Kudur-Mabug, prince of Emutbal, who would thus have been the brother-in-law of Chedor-laomer. Eri-Aku became king of Larsa during his father's life-time, as we learn from his inscriptions, and since the loss of the Elamite frontier-province of Emutbal was the first result of the overthrow of the Elamite supremacy in Babylonia, we may conclude that he had been given the kingdom of southern Babylonia by Chedor-laomer after its conquest by the latter. Ur also formed part of his dominions; perhaps it had been captured in the fourteenth year of Sin-muballidh when "the troops of Ur were [slain] with the sword." Eri-Aku assumes in his inscriptions the title of king, not only of Sumer or southern Babylonia, but also of Akkad or northern Babylonia; the explanation of this is to be found in the Spartali tablets, which describe his son Sar-ilani as conquering Borsippa and Babylon.

The official records of Babylon entitle Eri-Aku "king" of Emutbal under his Semitised name of Rim-Sin; in his own texts he more correctly calls his father Kudur-Mabug, *adda* "the father" or "prince" of Emutbal, the actual king being the king of Elam. The precise signification of the title "father" is unknown to me; it may be an Elamitism, or, in view of such Biblical expressions as "father of Gilead," "father of Gibeon" (1 Chr. ii, 21, 49), it may be a Semitism, though the fact that Eri-Aku adopted a Sumerian rather than a Semitic name is against this, as it shows that the majority of his subjects in southern Babylonia still spoke Sumerian. Kudur-Mabug had been not only "father of Emutbal" but also "father of the land of the Amorites." Since Khammu-rabi appears as "king

of the land of the Amorites"—*i.e.*, Syria and Palestine—after the overthrow of the Elamite supremacy, it would seem that the Elamite monarch had claimed this portion of the inheritance of the Babylonian empire after his conquest of the Babylonians, and had made the prince of Emutbal his representative in the West.

Prof. Schrader was the first to show that Khammu-rabi was the Amraphel of the Old Testament, and Dr. Pinches' discovery of the Assyrian form of the name Ammu-rapi, has cleared away the difficulties connected with the Hebrew spelling of it. This Assyrian form, however, occurs in a letter written from Babylon in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, and therefore represents the current Babylonian pronunciation of a late date. The spelling of the names Kudur-Lakhkhamar, Tudkhula and Eri-(ê)kua, or Eri-Aeku, in the Spartali tablets points to an equally late, if not later, period. The spelling Kudur-Lakhkhamar instead of Lagamar is reproduced in the Biblical Chedor-laomer, while the Biblical Arioch may be a metathesis of Eri-(ê)kua (אֶרִיכּוֹ), just as Ellaśar is of al-Larśa, "the city of Larśa." This would go to show that the narrative in Genesis xiv was copied from cuneiform tablets at a time when the names of Chedor-laomer and his allies in their popular forms had already made their way into literature. That the tablets were of Babylonian origin is proved by the fact that, although Chedor-laomer was suzerain and leader of the expedition into Canaan, the history of it is dated in the reign of the vassal king of Babylon. If Prof. Hommel is right in thinking that the final *-l* of the Hebrew Amraphel is due to a misreading of the character *bi* , which had also the value of *pi*, we might see in the narrative the translation of a cuneiform text, but it is possible that Dr. Lindl is more correct in regarding it as *ilu*, "god," a title which was applied to Khammu-rabi both by himself and by his subjects.

THE TABLETS OF NEGADAH AND ABYDOS.

BY F. LEGGE.

(Continued from Vol. XXVIII, p. 263.)

THE ABYDOS TABLETS.

The rest of the tablets discussed in this Paper were all discovered at Abydos in the course of the excavations begun by H. Amélineau in 1895-8, and continued by Prof. Petrie in 1900-3. As it is now announced that further excavations on this site have been entrusted to Dr. Naville and Mr. Garstang, and it is possible that other objects of the same kind may yet be discovered there, it seems more convenient to number consecutively those already published, and to treat the Negadah tablet as the first of the series. I shall therefore refer to this hereafter as No. 1. For greater convenience of reference, I will also take the Abydos tablets in the order of kings' names set forth by Prof. Petrie in *Royal Tombs*, although I have before stated in the *Proceedings*¹ that this order is founded on assumptions which do not seem to me to be justified by the facts at our disposal.







No. 2.

(See Plate.)

This, like No. 1, was made for the king whose hawk-name was Aha, and is of ebony, having been found by Prof. Petrie in one of the smaller tombs at Abydos. It is in fairly perfect condition, none of the signs being so far erased as to leave us in much doubt as to their identity. A small piece is broken off the top, but the missing

¹ *P.S.B.A.*, XXVI (1904) pp. 125 *et seq.* and XXVIII (1906) pp. 14 *et seq.*

part can be supplied by No. 3, which evidently represents the same design so far as the top register is concerned. If my reading of No. 1 be correct, and that tablet was made after the death of "the Horus Aha," this may be of the same date. It is divided into four registers, which we will take in their order.



The first register contains, immediately following the hole made for suspension, an object which appears to be a duplicated version of the ship with high prow, stern, and deckhouse, represented on Tablet No. 1.² If these two ships are intended to be represented side by side, as seems likely, they violate the convention of later Egyptian perspective, according to which the remoter object appeared above the nearer. Underneath them is shown a long bar of what appears to be a representation of water (*cf.* its appearance under the ships on the third register), above which rises, at the sinister extremity, a building. This building is, according to Dr. Sethe,³ the prototype of the palace sign , and is followed by the standard with two arrows crossed on a buckler, which is the emblem of the goddess Neith. At the other extremity of the bar rises two triangular flags facing each other, while following the bar comes a sign , which in later times was written . Then comes the skin of a four-footed beast dangling from a pole, followed by what appears to be the prototype of the sign , which is in its turn followed by the *srekh* or hawk-crowned rectangle bearing the mace and buckler which give us the name Aha. Prof. Petrie⁴ describes this register briefly as containing "after"—he means before—"the name of Aha, with the title 'born of Amiut' . . . two sacred barks, and a shrine and temenos of Neit." Dr. Naville,⁵ writing the year after the publication of the tablet, adopts the same explanation, pointing out that on the Palermo stone there are also many examples of the sign  followed by the representation of a god being used to denote birth, and also that it contains in one compartment a ram walking between the palace sign  on the one hand, and the two triangular and opposing flags on the other. This last group he interprets as





² *R. T.*, II, p. 21.






³ *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens* (Berlin, 1903), p. 62.

⁴ *R. T.*, II, *ubi cit.*

⁵ *Rec. de Trav.*, XXIV (1902), p. 120.

recording the foundation of Suten-henen or Heracleopolis, from which he argues that our tablet must likewise record the foundation of “un sanctuaire à Neith.” He further assumes that the sign  together with the skin on a pole means “la naissance d’Amut, , une des formes d’Anubis.” In both these conclusions he is followed by Dr. Sethe,⁶ writing a year later; but although I am conscious of my temerity in thus disputing the decision of two such profound philologists, I venture to think the passage is open to a different construction for the following reasons:—

In the first place, the reading of the first register proposed by Prof. Petrie does not account for the two boats with which the tablet begins. In calling these “two sacred barks,” Prof. Petrie, no doubt, had in his mind the two barks    


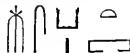

Madit, and     *Samk-tit*, which formed the morning and evening chariots of the Sun. But if there is one thing here more noticeable than another, it is the complete absence of any reference to solar worship in these early tablets, which were evidently made before the religion of Ra was introduced into Egypt. Nor do the two boats of the first register contain any of the equipment such as the two hawks and the  found in the solar barks, while they do present all the characteristics of the boat in which the dead Egyptian was supposed to be conveyed to his tomb, as in the Anastasi Papyrus, where it is said, “Thou mountest into thy bark of cedar wood, with high prow and stern.” That these were generally two in number, one being for the mummy and the other for the mourners, appears from many texts,⁸ and I therefore suggest that the two boats here shown are the funeral ones. I am willing to accept the group underneath them as depicting the temple or enclosure of Neith, but it does not seem to me that the two signs which follow should be read as *Mest Amut*, or “the birth of Amut.” A skin on a pole formed a regular part of the funeral furniture of the Egyptians, and M. Lefébure showed us nearly fourteen years ago⁹ that the

⁶ *Beiträge, ubi cit.*

⁷ Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, t. I, p. 83.

⁸ Cf. Lefébure, *P.S.B.A.*, XV (1898), pp. 434 *et seq.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 441 *et seq.*

custom in early times of wrapping the dead in the skin of the sacrifice was so invariable, that the word  *msek* had nearly the same significance as our expressions "shroud," or "grave." Especially was it associated with funerary buildings, or, to use his own words, "Le temple, qui a en Égypte un caractère funèbre et infernal si marqué, fut à son tour assimilé à la peau,  (Brugsch, *Ä.Z.*, 1875, p. 122), et la peau resta pour les hommes ce qu'elle était pour les dieux, c'est-à-dire un emblème de l'enfer, ou, plus exactement, de l'entrée de l'enfer"; and he gives many instances confirmatory of this from the Pyramid Texts.¹⁰ That the sign  which follows this is an abbreviation of the word *msek*, or, to put it another way, is a legend descriptive of the object preceding it, seems to me to be entirely in accordance with the practice of these early texts. On the whole, then, I would read the first register as meaning: "On the foundation of the temple to Neith, at the funeral ceremonies of the Horus Aha."



The second register depicts a scene which should be tolerably familiar to us. It is inscribed *βουστροφηγόν*, or the reverse way to the foregoing, and opens with what Prof. Petrie¹¹ describes as "a man making an offering, with two signs above, possibly *uāu* 'alone.'" There follows a bull, drawn with great spirit and accuracy, running apparently at high speed over broken ground, and having before him a peculiar hemispherical object which Prof. Petrie thinks is "a net on two poles" and compares to that shown on one of the Vaphio gold cups. Behind the bull is seen a building raised above a bar of the chequered water sign and surmounted by a long-legged bird. There can, I think, be little doubt that we here have a representation of the "Course d'Apis" which we see later as a frequent episode in the ceremonies attending the foundation of a temple, but which probably has nothing to do with Apis. The king, here represented as a bull, as in the great slate of Hierakonpolis,¹² is pacing out the


¹⁰ Cf. also Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon*, Pl. i, 1, and viii, 26, where a skin on a pole is said to be the symbol of Osiris. In the alternative, therefore, it might be argued that in the tablets in question the same emblem means merely "the Osiris Aha."

¹¹ *R. T.*, II, *ubi cit.*


¹² *P.S.B.A.*, XXIII (1901), Pl. i, *obv.*





ground that is going to be assigned to the temple or, as Muhammedans say, made *wakf*. The object in front of him is not a net but, as Mr. Griffith suggests in his invaluable *Hieroglyphs* (p. 64), the representation of a *stadium* or racecourse, that is to say of the path traversed by the bull. "As much ground as the hawk can fly over" was, according to tradition, the form of a grant to at least one noble Scottish family, and it is possible that the old measure of land by "bull's hides" contains a reference to a similar standard. The equation of the king with the bull is made more plain by a representation of the foundation ceremonies in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*,¹³ where the king and a bull are seen making the "course" side by side. The bird on the building I take to be not a stork, as stated by Prof. Petrie, but an ibis, the emblem of Thoth; its appearance in that position denoting that the course of the bull stretched in one or perhaps in all directions from the shrine of Thoth. No doubt the situation of all these temples was too well known to the priests who engraved the tablet to make any more particular description necessary. The figure in front of the bull, I suggest, is, in like manner, not "a man making an offering," but the king scattering sand from a winnowing-fan in order to mark the path traced out by the bull.

The signs above him I should be inclined to read  or *suten bat*, a variant of the expression *suten seshf*, which I have described in the first part of this paper as a rubric denoting that this part of the ceremony had to be performed by "the king himself." It is possible that the signs underneath the winnowing-fan, of which Prof. Petrie offers no explanation, are numerals denoting the number of times the bull's journey was made, and the half-erased circular sign may be a primitive form of the place sign  which afterwards became the determinative of an inhabited region.¹⁴

The third register shows a procession of three boats—evidently *not* funereal barks but barges, proceeding from a city, bearing the same bird that we have just seen in the second register, and which *may* be Hermopolis, the city of Thoth. One of them seems to journey towards another city denoted by the nome sign , which


¹³ See the reproduction in Moret, *R.P.*, p. 140, and fig. 35.



¹⁴ So Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 34. The likeness of the whole group to the  with which the name of Thoth is written is noteworthy.





Prof. Petrie would read as the door , and what appears to be the  lake or pool of water. Does this refer to the Fayoum? The other two are journeying past two islands  which, contrary to custom, have the serrated edges of a city cartouche, and the hoe-sign  *mer* in front of them. Does the whole register suggest that the king's benefactions to the temple were brought in barges from the city of Thoth? I am unable to suggest any other explanation.


The last register contains, as did that in Tablet No. 1, a horizontal line of hieroglyphs. This, which I shall in future refer to as "the formula," has been somewhat damaged, but there can be little doubt that it should read thus:



This is the way in which Prof. Petrie transcribes it, with the exception of the hawk, for which he substitutes a nondescript sign. By comparing it with the other examples of the formula, however, the presence of the hawk here seems demanded, and may well have been on the original tablet. The sign which I have transcribed  seems to me to be the usual determinative of vegetables.

The meaning of this would be fairly plain were it not for the interpolation, as the second sign, of the water-pot, surcharged as it were with the city-sign . The only explanation of this that I can suggest—though I do it with little confidence—is that the  is here used by a sort of acrophony for the name of the goddess Neith, and that the addition of the city-sign gives the group the meaning of

"the city of Neith." The succeeding group    (the  having evidently got out of place) should mean, as in No. 1, "the

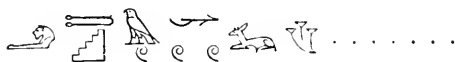
Horus gave to the temple," while the  may be read as before,

"a hundred measures of wood." As for those that follow, they seem to denote vegetables, meat, loaves, and jars of wine respectively. The whole formula would therefore read "At the foundation of the City of Neith(?) the Horus gave to the temple a hundred measures of wood, vegetables, meat, loaves, and jars of wine."

No. 3.

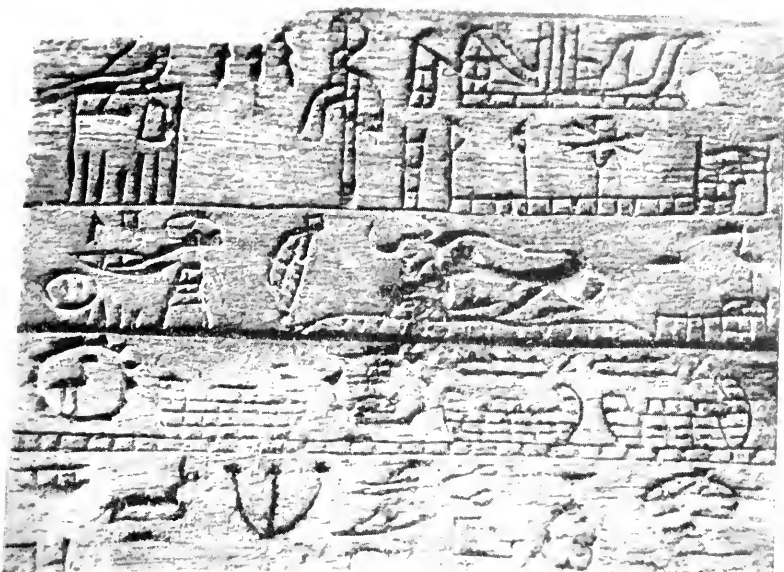
(See Plate.)

This was discovered on the same site and at the same time as No. 2, of which it was probably when perfect, a complete copy, with the exception of the formula. This last reads :



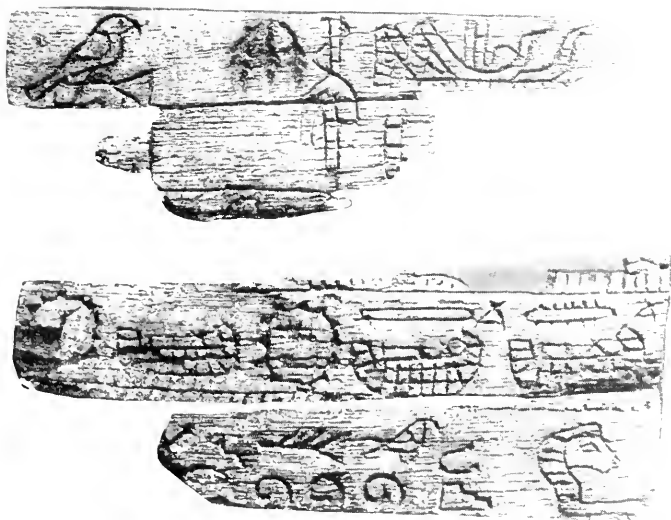
The remainder of the formula being broken away. It will be noticed that the only omission that can be established is that of the vase immediately following the first sign, while the numeral sign under the *khēt* is triplicated. The variation is a fairly strong confirmation of the view that it is really measures of some kind that are here referred to.

(*To be continued.*)



No. 2.

From *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. iiiA, fig. 5.



No. 3.

From *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. iiiA, fig. 6.

ST. MENAS OF ALEXANDRIA.

BY MARGARET A. MURRAY.

There are two martyrs of this name, St. Menas of Alexandria and St. Menas Bishop of Athens. They are often confused together in the mediæval Synaxaria, and incidents from the martyrdom of one have been placed in the history of the other; but Garucci¹ and Néroutsos² have pointed out, and conclusively proved, that Menas, the Egyptian saint, was a Roman soldier, martyred at Alexandria and buried in that city, while Menas the Bishop of Athens was put to death at Kotyaeion in Phrygia Salutaria, and his remains were afterwards removed to Constantinople, where several churches were dedicated to him. The Greek Church honours both martyrs: Menas of Alexandria on Nov. 11th, Menas of Athens on Dec. 10th.

It is to the Egyptian saint only that this Paper refers.

Until the 7th century, St. Menas was not merely the most popular saint in his native country, but his cult spread beyond the narrow bounds of Egypt along the shores of the Mediterranean, penetrating as far west as Arles,³ as far north as Cologne,⁴ and obtaining recognition even in Rome where, in a church dedicated to St. Menas, Gregory the Great preached one of his homilies.⁵

The reason for this wide-spread cult is not difficult to find. His martyrdom was cruel,⁶ but not more so than that of many other Christians whose histories are preserved in the Martyrologies, and his rank and position were not so distinguished as to make his death an important event in local history. It is evidently to the miraculous cures effected at his tomb that he owes his fame; and if, as I have

¹ *Archæologia*, XLIV, p. 325.

² *Bull. de l'inst. égypt.*, 1874-75, p. 187.

³ DE ROSSI, *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1869, pp. 20, 31. MICHON, *Bull. de la soc. nat. des Antiquaires de France*, 1897, p. 297, note 1.

⁴ *Jahrb. des Vereins von Altertumsfreunde d. Rheinländer*, LXIX, p. 58, Taf. III, 4.

⁵ *Archæologia*, XLIV, p. 322.

⁶ *Propylæum ad Acta Sanctorum*, Novembris. And a curious reference to the martyrdom of the saint in SIBERUS' *Martyrologium Metricum Eccl. Graeci*, p. 371:

“Quae gignit in Aegyptus, profecto magna sunt,
Dissectus illud, O Menas, jam comprobus.”

pointed out below, the cures were effected as much by natural means as by faith, it is easy to understand why pilgrims flocked to his shrine.

St. Menas⁷ was the son of Eudoxius, a native of Nakius, and governor of a Roman province in Africa. The birth of the saint was miraculously announced to the mother, when praying one day for a child before a picture of the Virgin : at the end of her prayer, a voice from the picture said "Amin" ; therefore when the child was born he was called "Mina," as being the same word uttered by the picture. In course of time he entered the Roman army in one of the auxiliary regiments called the Rutilian Band under the command of Arguriskos : the taxiarch of the division in which the saint served being named Phirmilianos. After the death of his parents he succeeded to his father's position as military governor, and it was at this time, during the Diocletian persecution, that the celebrated Vision of St. Menas occurred. He was in the wilderness praying and fasting when he saw heaven open and martyrs wearing beautiful crowns ; a voice said to him, "Whosoever bears suffering for the Name of Christ shall receive a crown like these." Thereupon he returned to Alexandria and "confessed Christ." The prefect Pyrrhus⁸ (according to another account, Maximian) tried both bribery and torture to shake his faith, but the saint remained firm ; finally his sufferings were ended by the sword. His fellow Christians took the body and buried it. The first miracle performed by the martyr's body was when the troops of Pentapolis took it with them to protect them on their journey to and from Alexandria. While they were on the sea, two monsters with necks like camels came out of the water and began to lick the body, but fire came out of the body, which burnt the monsters and drove them away. On the return of the troops they put the body of the saint on a camel, but when the animal reached a certain spot it refused to go further ; another camel was tried, with the same result. Therefore the body was buried there. According to the most complete account, the place of burial was entirely forgotten, and was miraculously discovered by a shepherd who observed that his sick sheep were cured by rolling in the earth and water at that place. He applied the same remedies not only to sheep but to human beings, and his fame as a healer spread so far

⁷ WÜSTENFELD, *Synaxarium*, Hatur 15th. *Protylacum ad Acta Sanctorem*, Novembris.

⁸ PLEYTE, *MSS. coptes de Leide*, p. 282.

that the daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople came to him to be healed of leprosy. The saint appeared in a vision to the princess telling her where to find his body ; and, in gratitude for her restoration to health, the Emperor built a church over the remains.

It is very evident from the legend that the miraculous cures wrought by the saint's body were the cause of his fame, and that without such aid St. Menas would have remained merely one of the obscure martyrs who perished in the Diocletian persecution. Generally, saints of healing could only effect cures at their own shrines, and the sick, after a painful pilgrimage, touched the sacred body, or even the shrine which contained the body, and were thus healed of their diseases. But there is no record of this in the church of St. Menas ; on the contrary, this saint appears to be an exception to the rule, and cures were effected at a distance by water from the holy well at his shrine. This appears to be the reason for the wide-spread cult of St. Menas, whose festival is kept, even now, in the Greek and Coptic Churches.

The period in which his cult was most flourishing appears to have been from the 5th to the 7th century, perhaps even earlier. The Arab conquest in the 7th century put Egypt under the dominion of rulers of an alien faith ; persecutions ensued, and foreign pilgrims therefore came no more ; churches were heavily taxed, and the priests found it impossible to keep up the glory of the shrines ; with a strongly-proselytizing government "the love of many waxed cold" towards the older religion, and gifts to the churches became fewer ; finally, when the Christians were completely subdued and made to realise their subordinate position, outbreaks of fanatical fury on the part of the rulers or of the Mahomedan mob resulted in the wholesale destruction of many churches, that of St. Menas among the number.

But under Christian rule the fame of St. Menas was very great. Many miracles were worked by him, and he could even restore the dead to life. SURIUS⁹ gives many examples of his power collected from ancient MSS. ; among others he relates how an innkeeper (presumably at Alexandria) killed one of his guests. St. Menas appeared to the innkeeper in the guise of a soldier and found the body, whereupon the murderer confessed his crime, and as a reward for his repentance the saint restored the dead man to life. Again : a woman took all her goods to make an offering to St. Menas in order to obtain a child ; on her way she was attacked, but she called

⁹ SURIUS, *De Prob. Sanct. Hist.*, VI, 250.

upon the saint, who appeared and saved her, and the robber, surprised at her miraculous rescue, was converted to Christianity.

The popularity of the saint was so great that impostors appear to have traded upon his name. An instance of this is mentioned among the miracles of St. Agathon the Stylite,¹⁰ when a woman, declaring herself to be acting under the direct commands of St. Menas, caused a well to be dug, and those that bathed in it were cured of their diseases. St. Agathon promptly stopped this unauthorised working of miracles by saying that the woman was possessed of an evil spirit and by praying over her until the devil was cast out; he then ordered the well to be filled up.

The camels, which appear in all the representations of the saint, are not accounted for in the legends. In one,¹¹ monsters with necks like camels come out of the sea and are punished for their temerity in touching the body of the saint. Later on in the story, camels refuse to bear the martyr's body from the place where God intended that it should rest. But another legend¹² states that the martyr before his death told his friends to lay his corpse upon a camel and to let the animal wander where it would, and that where it stopped there they were to bury his body. These legends appear to me to be a later invention evolved when the real meaning of the animals was lost; for when we turn to historical sources, or examine the legends critically, we find that the camels are not accounted for. It was the custom for the early Christians to bury martyrs beside their birth-places, and that St. Menas was no exception to the rule is proved by the words of St. Sophronius:¹³ "You all know the martyrion who also know the cottage which belonged to the martyr and which is near it." GARUCCI¹³ points out that this cottage is represented on the ivory pyxis, now in the British Museum, which shows the shrine of St. Menas (Pl. II, figs. 3, 4). There was, then, no need for a miraculous camel to indicate the spot where the saint should be buried, as this was already decided on. In WÜSTENFELD'S *Synaxarium* the camels are brought in only for the second burial; the saint's body having already been buried once, and then exhumed to protect the troops on their journey. The "sea" of that legend is probably Lake Mareotis, which the troops crossed as being the quickest way to

¹⁰ BASSET, *Synaxaire Arabe. Patr. Orient.*, t. I, p. 323.

¹¹ WÜSTENFELD, *Synaxarium*.

¹² TILLEMONT, *Mém. pour servir à l'hist. eccl's.*, t. V, p. 758.

¹³ GARUCCI, *Archæologia*, XLIV.

Alexandria, but the distance from Alexandria to the church of St. Menas, where the body finally rested and where the cottage of the martyr still stood, was probably fifteen miles, and therefore they must have brought it back either by water on a boat or by land on camels. In the former case, camels would not be required; in the latter, the animals would have a long journey, and that they should refuse to go any further can scarcely be called a miraculous event. This legend of camels is not confined to St. Menas alone. The bodies of the martyrs Abirou and Atoum were also laid upon camels, which refused to move on arriving at the spot destined for the shrine erected to the martyrs' memory.¹⁴

Several Egyptologists¹⁵ have tried to prove that the representations of St. Menas are a Christian form of the ancient Egyptian god Horus the child (Harpocrates) standing on crocodiles. The tablets on which the figures of this god occur are usually called Cippi of Horus, the Metternich Stele being the best example. The god is represented as a naked boy wearing the lock of youth; he treads upon two or more crocodiles, and holds by their tails in his hands lions, gazelles, scorpions and snakes. Above his head appear the hideous features of the god Bes. The inscriptions show that the tablet provides magical protection against the bites and stings of all noxious animals, perhaps indicating thereby diseases of all sorts. That the Menas-bottles were also used for curing diseases is true, both god and saint being celebrated for their healing powers. But BIRCH, WIEDEMANN, and NÉROUTSOS found their contention on the resemblance between the figures of Horus and St. Menas, a resemblance more apparent than real. In both cases the figure is of a youth standing with outstretched arms, and in both cases animals hang on each side of him with their heads down. But here the resemblance, such as it is, ceases. In comparing the two, it is evident that we must take into account the space which the artist was required to fill. In the cippi, this space was rectangular and the artist was therefore unhampered, and could represent the animals in whatever position he preferred; therefore when he represented them head downwards he did so purposely. But with the flasks, the case is completely altered. There the space is circular, the central figure taking up so much room that it was impossible for the artist to squeeze in the camels

¹⁴ AMÉLINEAU, *Actes des Martyrs*, p. 115.

¹⁵ WIEDEMANN, 6^e *Congrès des Orient.*, 1883, p. 162. NÉROUTSOS, *Ancienne Alexandrie*, p. 48. BIRCH, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1852, p. 223.

in their proper position, *i.e.*, kneeling with their heads up; he therefore represented them kneeling, but was obliged, by the exigencies of the space at his disposal, to make them apparently hang head downwards; his only course if he wished to represent them with their heads up being to turn them the other way round, with their backs to the saint. But that the intention was to represent the camels kneeling with their heads up is shown when an artist was not cramped and hampered by the circular space required to be filled, as in the ivory pyxis of the British Museum, which is contemporary with the bottles, or the ivory tablet at Milan which, although rather later, still carries on the traditional representation (Pl. III). In these ivory carvings, the attitude of the saint is that in which all departed Christians are represented in early times, the attitude of prayer, and is not necessarily Egyptian. The figures on which NÉROUTSOS largely depends for the proof of his theory are of a beardless Christ standing on a crocodile and a lion, while a snake and an ichneumon hang head downwards, one on each side. But there are two reasons against these representations being a link between St. Menas and Horus on the crocodiles: first, they are of later date than the Menas-bottles; and, second, the attitude of the figure is not that of either the saint or the god. The whole picture is so evidently an illustration of the text in the Psalms, "Thou shalt go upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet," that it is straining the facts to attempt to force a connection between these figures and the representations of St. Menas or of Horus on the crocodiles. Unless a succession of figures are found in the prescribed attitude, and of a date between the 2nd and the 5th centuries, and showing the transition from the pagan god to the Christian saint—the elimination of the head of Bes, the change in the form of the animals, the introduction of the Roman costume, the disappearance of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, etc.—we must abandon this fascinating theory, and be content to accept the facts as they appear on the surface. The sudden rise to fame of a saint and the oblivion which afterwards overtakes him, leaving nothing but the memory of his name and a faint tradition of his greatness, is not unprecedented in the annals of Christian history, witness St. Alban, Our Lady of Walsingham, and even so recent and historical a personage as St. Thomas à Becket.

(To be continued.)



Fig. 1.

The Emperor viewing the Martyrdom of St. Menas.



Fig. 2.

Martyrdom of St. Menas.

PYXIS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



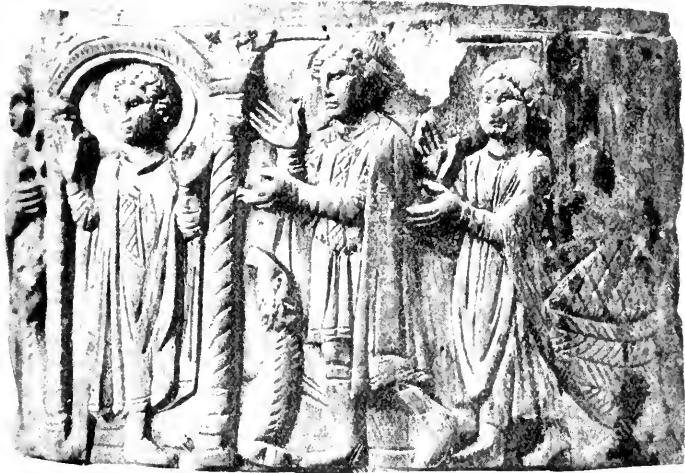


Fig. 3.

Figure of St. Menas in a Shrine, with Worshippers.



Fig. 4.

Figure of St. Menas in a Shrine, with Worshippers.

PYXIS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



IVORY PANEL OF A RELIQUARY
AT MILAN.

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

VII.

Daniel and Chronicles.

By SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S., etc.*

As is well known, the text of Daniel in the Greek Bibles is not a Septuagint text, but comes from Theodotion's translation. The fact is expressly attested by a very good witness, namely, Jerome, who in his preface to Daniel says: "*Danielem prophetam juxta septuaginta interpretes Domini salvatoris Ecclesiæ non legunt; utentes Theodotionis editione. Pref. in Daniele ad Paulum et Eustochium*"; again, in his preface to Joshua, he says: "*Quare Danielelem juxta Theodotionis translationem ecclesiæ susceperunt,*" and again "*illud quoque lectorem admoneo Danielelem non juxta LXX interpretes sed juxta Theodotionem ecclesias legere.*" Again, in another work, when he is in an apologetic mood, he writes: "*Ecclesiæ juxta Theodotionem legunt Danielelem. Ego quid peccavi si ecclesiarum judicium sequutus sum*" Apol. ad Ruf. II.

In complete conformity with these dicta of Jerome, the canonical Daniel, as it occurs in other Greek MSS., is expressly headed *κατὰ Θεοδοτιῶνα*, while in Codex 2, Marchalianus, in the famous Chisian MS. (*vide infra*), the same text is also expressly attributed to Theodotion.

It is singular, however, that Jerome, while attesting the borrowed character of the Greek text of Daniel, should not have made a similar statement about the non-Septuagint character of Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah in the then current Greek Bibles, which is now generally accepted, and is in fact, as we have seen in previous papers, unquestionable and conclusive.

I ventured to suggest in an earlier Paper that the text of these

three books was also ultimately derived from Theodotion's version. I did this on the general ground that, as stated by Jerome, Origen was in the habit of sophisticating the Septuagint with extracts from Theodotion's version; thus, in the preface to the very books we are discussing, after charging Origen with having made up an eclectic text, he says, "*Sed quod majoris audaciæ est, in editione Septuaginta Theodotionis editionem miscuit.*" I am not so sure now, however, that the Greek of the canonical Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah is Theodotion's. It may have come from the version Symmachus. This view would be supported by the extraordinary literalness and accuracy with which it follows the Hebrew, which was a feature of this translation rather than of that of Theodotion.

While not a single reference is found in FIELD to any variants from Aquila, Theodotion, or Symmachus in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, it has been said that there are some references in Chronicles from all of them. One of these I think it well to specifically point out and criticize. This professes to come from Theodotion, namely, a note to 2 Chronicles iv, 16, where the first section of the verse is quoted by Field exactly as it is found in the Vatican MS., in which, however, there is no note or suggestion as to its coming from Theodotion. It is apparently attributed to Theodotion by Field on the ground that one phrase in it is elsewhere used by Theodotion. His words are: "In textu Ed. Rom. a quo libri scripti non discedunt, duæ versiones coaluerunt, quarum priorem Theodotioni vindicandum esse testantur hex. ad Exod. xxxviii, 3, Jer. lii, 18." This is very inconclusive. The critical words in the Greek MS. B are *καὶ τοὺς ποδιστῆρας, καὶ τοὺς ἀναληπτῆρας*. It is true that in Exod. xxxviii, 3, we have the words (*καὶ τοὺς ἀναληπτῆρας* given by Field and attributed by him to Theodotion. This is attributed by him apparently on *a priori* grounds, for he gives no reference whatever to the text from which he derives it, and apparently quotes merely for illustration 4 Kings xxv, 14 and Jer. lii, 18, and it would seem, therefore, to be a mere conjectural guess of Field's. When we turn to the 4th of Kings xxv, 14, just mentioned, no doubt a similar reading occurs, *i.e.*, *καὶ τὰς ἀναληπτῆρας*, and Codex 243 is given as the authority, but the reading is expressly assigned to Symmachus and not to Theodotion.

It seems to me probable on this evidence that the reading in question points to Symmachus as the source and not Theodotion. This is in accord with *prima facie* probability, based on the fact that not a

single other positive and direct extract from Theodotion is known in either Chronicles 1 and 2 to sustain this hypothetical reference to him of a single word by Field. While Theodotion is only quoted in Chronicles in this doubtful instance, Symmachus and Aquila are quoted several times, and the former actually uses the critical word relied on by Field as a test of Theodotion's Greek, and thus strengthens the conclusion that the translation in question was that of Symmachus and not Theodotion's.

This is confirmed again by another fact. While Theodotion follows the Septuagint except in its verbal changes and emendations, and in the text of Daniel contains all the so-called additions which are omitted in the Masoretic Bible, Symmachus and Aquila apparently follow the Masoretic text very closely and exclude them all.

Inasmuch, again, as in the Greek text of the canonical Ezra, the story of Darius and the three young men is omitted, as it is in the Hebrew Bibles, it seems to show that that text was not Theodotion's, but either that of Aquila or Symmachus, and much more probably that of Symmachus. If this contention be sustained it would show that in the canonical Greek Bibles, we have, in certain books, the works of two later translators substituted for the Septuagint, namely, Theodotion in Daniel and Symmachus in Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah. We have, indeed, no direct evidence that Theodotion ever translated Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah at all.

Let us now return to Daniel. As we have seen, the ordinary text in the Greek Bibles is Theodotion's. We fortunately have the Septuagint version preserved, as well as that last named, in a single MS., in which both the Greek versions are found. This MS. is known as the Chisian MS., Codex 87, from the fact that it once belonged to Pope Alexander the VIIth, a member of the Chigi family.

It is a cursive MS. Dr. Swete says of it, "The handwriting appears to belong to the Calabrian school of Greek calligraphy, and the date usually assigned to it is the 9th century" (Old Testament in Greek, III, p. 12). It may, however, as he suggests, be a century or two later. "The MS. contains Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, the Epistle of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah." In addition to these prophetic books, it also contains, as I have said, the Septuagint text of Daniel duly headed *κατὰ τοῦς ὁ*, then Hippolytus on Daniel, followed again by another Greek text of Daniel, which is the one found in all other published MSS., and headed *κατὰ Θεοδοτίωνα*.

While the Chisian MS. is the only Greek one in which the

Septuagint Daniel occurs, the same text in a Syriac dress is found in the famous Syro-Hexaplaric MS. in the Ambrosian Library, published in facsimile by Ceriani. At the end of this we have the words, "Daniel according to the Seventy. Finished is the Book of Daniel the Prophet, which has been interpreted from the tradition of the Seventy and Two, who, in the days of Ptolemy, King of Egypt, before the coming of the Messiah a hundred years more or less, interpreted the Holy Scriptures out of the Hebrew tongue into Greek, in Alexandria, the great city. Now this book was interpreted also out of Greek into Syriac in the city of Alexandria, in the month Kanûn Posterior, of the year nine hundred and twenty-eight of Alexander, Fifth Indiction": *i.e.*, 617 A.D. Mr. Ball adds that its language is an accurate rendering from the Greek, and contributes much to the restoration of the text.

Dr. Gwynne further says that the result of an examination of all the citations of Daniel (some of them long and important passages) that occur in Origen's extant works, is to prove that they all agree, almost verbatim, with the text of Theodotion now current, and differ, in some instances, materially as well as verbally, from that of the reputed LXX, as derived from the Chisian MS. On the other hand, Jerome's professed citations of the Septuagint Daniel agree with the Chisian and Syro-Hexaplaric texts. There cannot, in fact, be any doubt that this last-named text was that accepted by Jerome as the true Septuagint of Daniel. While the language and phraseology of the two translations differ very greatly, they both agree in including the additions to Daniel, namely, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and the insertions known as the Prayer of Azarias and the Hymn of the Three Children, thus attesting the acceptance of these additions, not only by the Alexandrian Jews two centuries B.C., but also their acceptance by those for whom Theodotion wrote in the second century, A.D. This last class was obviously not the Jews but the Christians.

These so-called additions to Daniel do not, as is well known, occur in the Hebrew Bibles. They were clearly discarded by the Masorets, who preserved its text, and had been doubtless discarded from the primitive archetype which they followed, which was put together, as generally now held, about 135 A.D. Their omission from the Hebrew Bibles can, at all events, be traced back to 240 A.D., when Julius Africanus wrote, for he specially mentions the fact in his letter to Origen (*vide infra*).

The question that naturally arises is as to whether the editors of the Masoretic text had any, and what, good reason for rejecting what their Greek-speaking countrymen had so long accepted without question, and included in their canon, or whether they did so, as they rejected certain parts of Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah, from mere exegetical fancy and caprice, and were blindly followed in doing so by the Reformers, who relied implicitly on what they styled the Hebrew Verity.

It appears accordingly that, while the so-called additions can be carried back as accepted portions of the genuine Greek Daniel to the third or second century B.C., the evidence of their omission from the Masoretic text and the Greek translators who followed it cannot be carried back by positive evidence further than the first edition of that text in the second century A.D., when its archetype was published at Jamnia. For those (including the great bulk of German theologians and critics) who have treated the Hebrew Old Testament as conclusive evidence of Canonicity, and of the condition of the primitive text, the paradox here referred to has been very easily solved. They have declared that those portions of Daniel not in the Hebrew Bible are spurious additions and interpolations which ought never to have been admitted into the Canon, and they have accordingly justified the action of the Reformers in remitting them to the Apocrypha. To this view, which is largely an *a priori* one, and the consequence of a peculiar theory in regard to the Hebrew version, there are, as several distinguished scholars have pointed out, the gravest objections.

The so-called interpolations and insertions in question, if they were additions, and not integral parts of the text, must, it is acknowledged, have been made at least as early as the publication of the Septuagint, and, if not actually made, must have been countenanced by the Seventy. On what possible ground can such a view be treated as reasonable? The Septuagint was not a document meant to mystify and to throw dust in the eyes of the Philistine and stranger, but was as much the Jewish Bible as the Masoretic Bible became in much later times. It was probably edited by the most learned and possibly devout Jews of the age, and had been merely translated into Greek in order to make it accessible to the Jews who were living in Egypt or Greece, and whose daily tongue was Greek. Such colonies, instead of being heterodox, have a tendency to cling to orthodoxy more closely than the mother community at home. That

under these conditions the translators should have conspired together to invent a number of folk-tales which they inserted and foisted among their sacred books, that this should have been allowed by the Jewish commonalty (rigid beyond measure in its clinging to tradition in such matters), and that they should not have been at once denounced as an abomination by the Jews of Palestine or Babylonia, seems to me quite incredible, and yet this is the view commonly maintained by those, including the Jews and the Reformers, who think it their duty to defend the integrity of the Masoretic text as it stands, at all hazards. In support of their view they claim, in the first place, that there is evidence that these additions were not originally composed in Hebrew or some other Semitic language, but in Greek, and that they were incorporated as a kind of Greek Haggadic or Midrashic redundancies and additions by the authors of the Septuagint themselves. In all this they do not attempt to shew how any one, or how any supposed cause, was benefited or furthered by insertions and interpolations which have no apparent theological *tendency*; but let us take them on their own ground. The earliest writer to raise the issue was Julius Africanus in his well-known letter to Origen, written about 240 A.D. In this letter he rebukes the latter for having in his controversy with Bassus quoted "Susanna," which he describes as spurious and a recent forgery, for which view he gives several reasons. Thus he urges that, when Susanna is condemned to die, the prophet is seized by the Spirit, and cries out that the sentence is unjust. Daniel, he says, never prophesies in this way, but by visions and dreams, and by an angel appearing to him. He then criticizes the way in which the guilty elders are detected, as being histrionic and not serious, and especially quotes the punning words in the Greek, which he says are quite different to their Hebrew synonyms. He asks how those who had lost and won at play, had been thrown out unburied on the streets, and had had their sons torn from them by eunuchs, and their daughters made concubines when captives among the Chaldeans, could pass sentence on the wife of their king Joiakim, whom the Babylonian king had made partner of his own throne, and if it was some other Joiakim, one of the common people, how could such a captive have such a mansion and spacious garden? He further declares that "Susanna" was not contained in the Daniel received by the Jews, and adds that while no other prophet was known to have quoted from another, in this work the words of Christ "The innocent and righteous shalt thou

not slay" are distinctly quoted. Moreover, he says, the style of "Susanna" is different to that of Daniel.

In his answer Origen begins by pointing out the important fact that the book was received in the Churches. As to its not occurring in the Hebrew Scriptures, he refers to other considerable variations between the Greek copies and the Hebrew ones also countenanced by the Church, and occurring in other books besides Daniel, such as Esther and Job, Jeremiah and Exodus, etc.

In regard to the punning words, Origen says that he had consulted certain Jews who did not know the Hebrew names of the trees upon which the puns were made, but, he adds, it was customary among them when they could not recall a corresponding Hebrew name, in such cases to have *recourse to the Syriac word instead of the Hebrew one*, a remark the importance of which will be reverted to later. He further suggests that the translators of the Greek text actually copied the puns by using, if not the exact translation, at least analogous words, an argument which has been strongly insisted upon by Dr. Ball in our own time.

Origen then goes on to say that, although the story of Susanna was not in the Hebrew Bibles, it was well known to the learned Jews whom he had consulted, and that they excluded it from their Bible, as they did all passages containing any scandals about the elders, rulers and judges, and he quotes as apposite the story told about Isaiah and guaranteed by the Epistle to the Hebrews (Hebrews xi, 38), but which was excluded from their sacred books. He further quotes the passage in Matthew 29-36 as referring to statements which had been cancelled from some other book by the Jews for the same reason. "We need not wonder, then," says Origen, "if this history of the evil desire of the licentious elders against Susanna is true, that it should have been removed from the Scriptures by those who did not want aspersions to be cast on the elders."

In regard to the charge of the story being histrionic, Origen rebukes Africanus for his levity and impiety in the phrase he uses, and bids him test the matter by another story of a similar character in 1 Kings iii, 16-28, which he was not likely to reject although quite as histrionic.

In regard to the statements of Africanus about the Jews having lost and won at play and been thrown out unburied in the street, Origen twits his opponent with having recourse for his statements to Tobias and Judith, both of which books were similarly rejected by the Jews

from their Scriptures. In regard to another argument of Africanus, he gives several instances to show that private Jews during the Captivity were rich men. As to the statement of the same critic that the prophets were not wont to borrow from each other, he completely traverses it and puts Isaiah ii, 2 in juxtaposition with Micah iv, 1; 1 Chron. xvi, 8 with part of Psalm civ, and the rest of the latter with Psalm xcv; Jeremiah xvii, 21-24 with Exodus xxxv, 2, etc., etc.

He also traverses the statement that the style of Susanna is different to that of the rest of Daniel.

It seems to me that Origen has replied completely and effectively to every point made by Africanus, except, perhaps, his argument in favour of a Greek and not a Semitic original, for the so-called insertions, based on the verbal puns. This last contention continued to trouble the critics even in early times; thus Jerome says in the Proemium to Daniel, "sed et hoc nosse debemus, inter cætera Porphyrium de Danielis libro nobis objicere: idcirco illum apparere confectum, nec habere apud Hebræos, sed Græci sermonis esse commentum; quia in Susanna fabula contineatur, dicente Daniele ad Presbyteros Ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίρου σχίσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίνου πρίσαι, quam etymologiam magis Græco sermoni convenire quam Hebræo. Cui et Eusebius et Apollinarius pari sententia responderunt: Susannæ Belisque ac draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraico sed partem esse prophetæ Habacuc filii Jesu de tribu Levi, sicut et nos ante annos plurimos, quum verteremus Danielem, has visiones obelo prænotavimus, significantes eas in Hebraico non haberi. Et miror quosdam *νευρίτιοίρους* indignari mihi, quasi ego decurtaverim librum: quum et Origines et Eusebius et Apollinarius alique Ecclesiastici viri et Doctores Græciæ, has, ut dixi, visiones non haberi apud Hebræos fateantur." Again, when commenting on chapter xiii, verse 59, he says, "If this etymology does not hold good in Hebrew, the passage must be rejected; but if it can be shown to belong to the Hebrew, then it may be received."


(To be continued.)

SOME NOTES ON THE XVIIITH DYNASTY TEMPLE
AT WADY HALFA.

By P. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.

[The capital letters in the text refer to the corresponding lettering on the Plan shown on Plate I.]

During the months of October and November of 1905, I was occupied in clearing the XVIIIth dynasty temple at Wady Halfa, in conjunction with Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, for the Sudan Government. Not much with regard to this interesting little building has yet been published, and I have therefore great pleasure in communicating my plan of it and some notes to the *Society of Biblical Archaeology*.

The temple is situated on the western banks of the river almost directly opposite the Arab village of Wady Halfa and about three miles above the British station of the same name. A mile to the south lies the opening of the Second Cataract, which stretches southwards as far as the eye can reach. The temple has been known since the days of Champollion, and was explored in 1887 by Dr. Budge and Colonel (now General Sir) Charles Hotted Smith, and later, in 1893, by Captain Lyons, who published a small plan of it in the *Recueil de Travaux* for 1895, to which Prof. Sayce added copies of most of the XIXth and XXth dynasty inscriptions and graffiti. To the Ancient Egyptians, the locality was known from the time of the Middle Empire and onwards as Buhen or Behen , the Ptolemaic Boôn, and the cult of the district was that of Horus. The inner temple was begun by Thothmes II and continued by Thothmes III, who also built the colonnade. It is of fine XVIIIth dynasty work with well-coloured reliefs. Rameses III and Rameses IX also appear to have made structural additions or

repairs. A few yards to the north-west are the remains of the so-called XIIth dynasty temple (as it stands it is really of XIXth dynasty construction) in which was found the celebrated stele of Senusert I.

A glance at the plan will shew that the temple consists of a main building of five chambers surrounded on the north, east, and south sides by a colonnade containing in all eighteen circular columns. The four on the eastern side immediately in front of the entrance are of the so-called "proto-Doric" order, and the two centre ones are grooved for a door. In front, towards the river, is a courtyard of square and circular columns, the arrangement of which offers some curious structural anomalies; the whole was surrounded by a brick wall of later date, which I rebuilt in order to keep the sand out. Many of the columns stand to nearly their original height, but the walls of the central building only remain to a height varying from about 7 feet to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Hardly any traces of either the capitals of the pillars or the blocks from the walls were found.

The inner shrine or adytum (A) contains a fine relief with well-preserved colouring representing Thothmes II in the presence of the Horus of Buhen, to whom the temple is dedicated (Plate II. fig. 1). Of the next three chambers (B, C, D), B and D contain underground vaults roofed over with massive flat paving-stones, which form the flooring of the building itself. The chamber under B is perfect, while that under D has entirely fallen in. The latter, however, has a low roof above the ground level, consisting of massive stone slabs (Plate II, fig. 2). It is noticeable how remarkably solid the stonework is for so small a building, which suggests store-chambers of an edifice liable to attack in a hostile country. All traces of the reliefs on the outer northern wall have been removed by the action of wind-blown sand; those on the eastern wall contain the legs only of what was probably a procession. On the southern side are processions of animals and tribute.

Turning to the outer court, it will be seen that this is not entirely symmetrical, and seems to point to an alteration of plan. The circular pillars at the northern and southern angles of the inner colonnade each abut on to a square column (F, F'), but whereas the one at the northern angle faces the east, that at the south faces towards the south. Again, the outer colonnade of the courtyard, on the northern and southern sides, consists of four square pillars of Thothmes III placed at regular distances and joined up by the

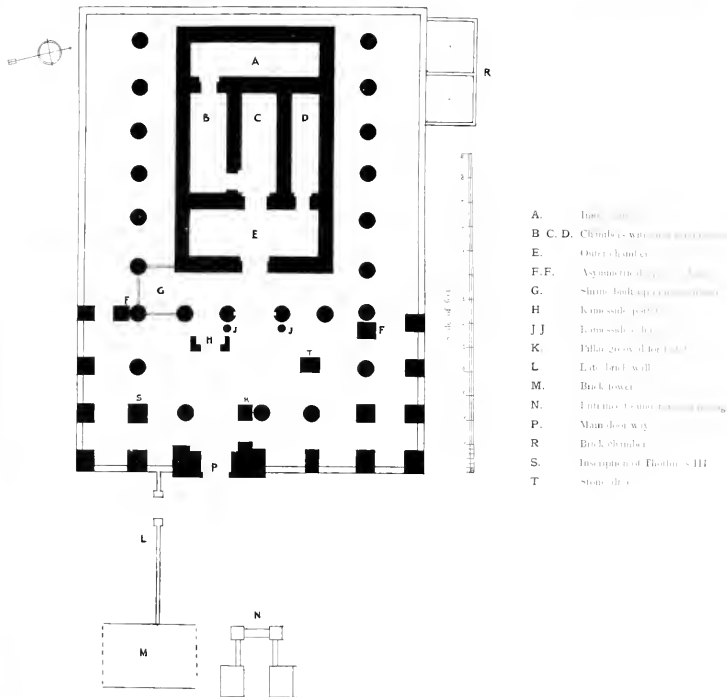




FIG. 2.
CHAMBER ROOFED OVER WITH
MASSIVE SLAB.



FIG. 1.
ADYTUM,
Thothes II in the presence of the "Horus of Bubon."

brickwork of a surrounding wall of later date. But on the eastern side the arrangement of the columns is not symmetrical; there are only two square pillars to the south of the entrance gateway, but three to the north of it, which brings the entrance gateway entirely out of line with the entrance of the main building. Of this entrance doorway (P) the southern door-post is made up of blocks uniform with the rest of the XVIIIth dynasty work and bears the cartouches of Thothmes III (Plate III, fig. 1). But the northern door-post has a number of blocks removed and others put in, besides which it is more massive and of a different shape. Prof. Breasted, who visited the temple early in 1906 after I cleared it, seems to suggest¹ that this difference is due to the wholesale removal of blocks bearing the name of Hatshepset and Thothmes III by Thothmes II, and to the replacing of them by the latter with blocks of his own. He also states that in the relief scenes in the temple itself the figure and name of Hatshepset were invariably cut out and replaced by those of Thothmes II. Prof. Breasted naturally takes for granted the validity of his own theory, which is well known, that Thothmes II interrupted the co-regency of Hatshepset and Thothmes III. With the *pros* and *cons* of this argument I have nothing to do,² but I must say that the whole time I was working in the temple I never once observed in it a trace of the name or figure of Hatshepset. And, even supposing Prof. Breasted were correct about the alteration of the blocks, it would be interesting to have his proof that the stones excised (as he thinks) bore the name and figure of Hatshepset, or indeed of anybody else. For masonry was often laid in peculiar ways, and spoilt blocks had always to be reckoned with. Nor can I agree with Prof. Breasted when, in order to support his theory of the second reign of Thothmes II, he suggests that the outer parts of the temple built by Thothmes III are prior in construction to the inner shrine undoubtedly built by Thothmes II. The only reason I can imagine for Prof. Breasted's idea is that he thinks that Thothmes III was prior to Thothmes II. Certainly the position of the pillars in the *courtyard* point to an alteration of plan in that part of the temple,

¹ *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, "Temples of Lower Nubia," Oct., 1906. I can but suppose the door sketched in Prof. Breasted's article but not specified refers to this entrance in question. I do not understand his "lintel," as not one lintel exists in the whole temple.

² M. Legrain's recent discovery at Karnak of a relief representing Thothmes II attended by Hatshepset as his queen especially invalidates Prof. Breasted's theory.

possibly after some interval of time, but as nearly all the pillars bear the name of Thothmes III, any such alteration can only have taken place during his reign. With regard to the eastern gateway (P), however, the fact that it is entirely out of line with the entrance to the temple itself, but in line with the small Ramesside portal (H), and that its northern door-post is a different shape from its XVIIIth dynasty fellow and partly reconstructed of coarsely-built blocks, points to Ramesside restoration. The two pillars in the eastern wall to the north are also so coarsely built as to preclude XVIIIth dynasty work, some of the blocks being put in upside down and without reference to the run of the reliefs. This would suggest that these also were of later construction or re-construction. In front of the two columns on either side of the doorway of the temple itself are the remains of two small pillars also of Ramesside date (J, J). The number of inscriptions made by officials in the reigns of Siptah, Rameses III, and Rameses IX,³ in addition to the fact that all the circular columns of the eastern colonnade bear the cartouche of Rameses III, proves a more or less continued occupation of the building during the XIXth and XXth dynasties. That there have been alterations of plan there is therefore no doubt, but for the supposed alterations of Thothmes II, I cannot see any proof as yet. When Prof. Breasted describes the work of his expedition I hope he will make clear the reasons on which he bases his supposition.

The absence of the name of Rameses II is curious. His attention must have been mostly occupied by the temple of Serret⁴ el-Gharb, about fourteen miles to the north of Wady Halfa, and the far greater operations at Abu Simbel.

Two other points are noticeable in the construction of the courtyard. Immediately on the right on entering is a square pillar (K) of XVIIIth dynasty work adjoining one of the circular columns of the eastern colonnade. The southern face of the top stone of this pillar is cut away at an angle, having a ledge as if to receive a lintel. There is, however, no square pillar adjoining the corresponding circular column to the south, and so if a doorway was intended, its construction never got any further than the erection of one door-post (Plate III, fig. 2). At the point marked G on the plan an attempt has been made by someone in modern times to build up a shrine between the pillars and the south-east angle of the main building.

³ These have been published by Prof. Sayce, *Rec. de Travaux*, 1895.

⁴ Miscalled by Prof. Breasted "Aksheh," following Baedeker's mistake.

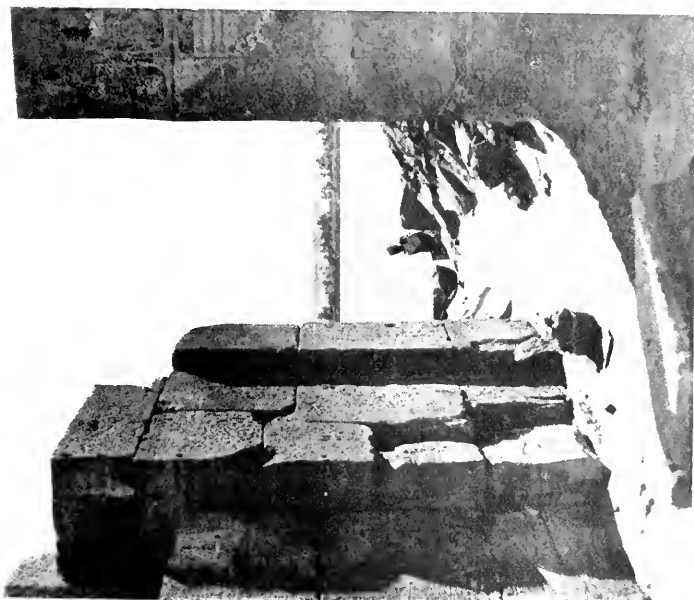


FIG. 1.
MAIN GATEWAY.
Looking East towards the River.

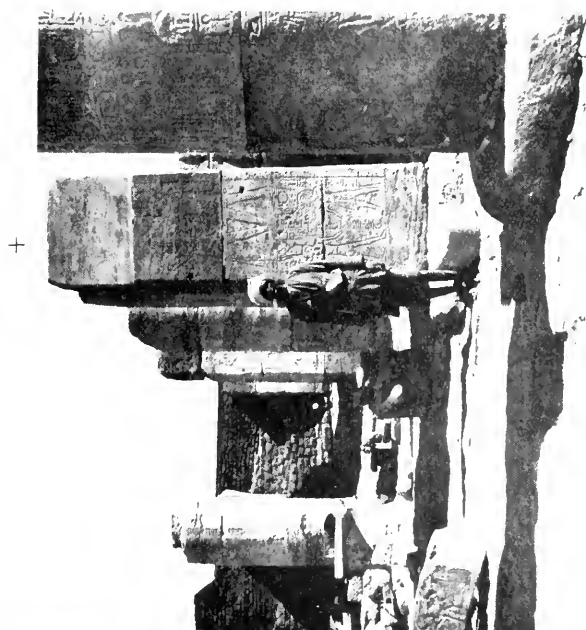


FIG. 2.
COURTYARD, LOOKING NORTH.
(+ Pillar marked for burial.)



NORTHERN COLONNADE.

Looking East.



VIEW OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

The slabs have been taken at random from fragments which must have been lying about, and the pillars and wall have thus been joined up. There is no reason to suppose that there was ever any such chamber here; indeed, one wall as at present constructed abuts on to a relief representing a procession of animals on the southern wall of the temple!

On the western face of the pillar marked on the plan S, is an inscription of Thothmes III somewhat garbled and in parts destroyed owing to the action of wind-blown sand. According to my copy, the text runs as follows:—



The inscription is dated in the "twenty-third year under the majesty of the mighty Horus, appearing in Thebes, king Men-kheper-ra, beloved of Amen Rā, lord of the thrones of the [two] lands, appearing as a benefactor like the ray of Rā, causing the splendours of the two lands to rejoice like the ray of Rā in the horizon of heaven, the good god, whose heart is wide, the son of the sun, Thothmes-nefer-kheperu, beloved of Horus lord of Buhen." The king then goes on to say that he has "united to himself the power of his gods to create he has made firm the appearances of the king upon the throne of Horus of the living, he has caused his terrors, he has made his fears to fall upon the bodies and the lands of the Fenkhu (?). I am the king who has brought to pass [what he intended], building a chamber he established it making to live the name of every god from whom his majesty has his births lightening the moon and the circle of the sun's disk with his ray; My majesty came with all ranks to overthrow the Mentiu of Sati: I am the strong bull appearing in Thebes, a son of Tum, and beloved of Menthu, one who fights at the head of his soldiers himself that they may see [his valour]. This is no lie. I have come forth from the house of my father the king of the gods, Amen. I have commanded my forces as a very king who has prepared the way for his soldiers who are valiant before him like a devouring flame. They see his valour when he comes forth, there is none like him, slaying the desert people, trampling down the Syrians. Their princes bring, as imploring life, chariots worked in gold and ebony, and present their horses in numbers. The Libyans too bring, as propitiating the spirits of his majesty, their gifts upon their backs; [they grovel before him] as do the dogs. One hastens to give to them the breath of life of the good god, the chief and only valiant one, lord of risings like Horemakhti, a great one striking terror (?) into the hearts of the land: all countries are under the throne of his majesty, the Nine Bows are prostrate [beneath] the sandals of the king, Men-kheper-ra, only lord of valour, [chosen] of his father Amen, son of the sun Thothmes-nefer-kheperu, beloved of Horus the lord of Buhen, giving life [for ever]."

It is interesting to note that, in spite of the king's assumption of a personal victory over the Libyans, he was during the year 23 occupied with the conquest of Palestine, and that this was probably a mere punitive expedition undertaken by a subordinate officer.

Outside the temple one or two things call for note. Near the north-western corner of the surrounding brick wall, two small brick chambers were excavated (R) which were originally roofed with vaults. From their similarity in style to the brick shrine of Taharka at Semneh, excavated by Dr. Budge and Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, I am inclined to think they belong to the period of that king. In one were found the Middle Empire objects and the rude doll and Meroitic fragments described in *P.S.B.A.*, March, 1906. There are traces of an arched door, bricked up, in the surrounding wall, which led from the temple court into these chambers. The surrounding wall itself joined the XVIIIth dynasty outer square columns in the courtyard *over* the reliefs, and therefore was either built or restored at a later time than the XVIIIth dynasty, although a brick temenos wall probably encircled the building from the first. On the south side of the main entrance is a towering brick structure, which serves as a landmark for some miles away (M). It is a fragment of what at one time must have been a very large building, possibly a fortress of the Middle Empire, connected with the XIIth dynasty temple hard by. It is connected with the surrounding wall of the XVIIIth dynasty building by the remains of a brick wall, which is broken by a doorway made of stones, obviously taken from the temple in later times. If the ruined tower (M) is of Middle Empire period, this wall must have been built long after, but both may possibly be of the age of the Ethiopian dynasties. A curious stone structure (N) seemed to lead to an underground passage to the temple, and from the excellence of the masonry it is perhaps of XVIIIth dynasty period. The passage or tunnel had all fallen in and filled with sand, so that little could be made of it. It is noticeable that it is practically in line with the entrance of the inner temple. The remains of a good stone quay are visible along the bank of the river, which flows only a few hundred feet from the temple. No Christian remains or fragments were found during the clearing of the temple.

At the instance of Mr. Crowfoot I built up the surrounding wall of the temple and roofed the inner building with a light roof supported on square columns. This will protect the reliefs from the discolouring effect of the sun and the destroying action of wind-blown sand. The building is now watched over by a *ghafir*, placed there by the Sudan Government, and is in thorough order for the inspection of tourists and travellers.



SQUARE AND CIRCULAR COLUMNS
IN THE COURTYARD.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, February 13th, 1907, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

E. J. Pilcher, Esq.—"The Himyaritic Script, derived from the Greek."

Africanus and Porphyry in early times. The argument based on them has been revived and put forward as conclusive in more modern days by Pusey and Kamphausen, who have both written commentaries on Daniel, and by others. The argument, be it remembered, if valid, would only apply to the story of Susanna, for the puns occur in that alone, and are contained in verses 54-5 and 58-9 of that story. They involve a play of words in one case between *σχῖνος*, translated a mastick tree in our Bible and *σχίσει* "will cleave these," and in the other between *πρῖνος*, an ilex or evergreen oak, and *πρίω*, to cut, and we are told this pun would be impossible in the Hebrew. Impossible, no doubt, it would be between words of precisely the same meaning, but not between words conveying the general sense of the allusion.

Dr. Ball points out with remarkable acuteness and point, that, if we turn to one of the Syriac versions cited by Lagarde, named L₂, we shall find that the puns have in fact been so preserved in a Semitic language, by the substitution, in the first pun, of *pāstēqā*, the pistachio tree, for the *skinos* of the Greek, and contrasting it with the verb *pēsaq*, to cut off, and in the second, by a similar substitution of *rummānā*, a pomegranate tree, for the *prinos* of the Greek, and contrasting it with *rumcha*, a sword (see Introduction to Susanna, *Speaker's Commentary*, p. 324). These puns are quite as good as they are in the Greek.

Dr. Ball goes further, and suggests that they may preserve for us the original puns as actually made, and that the Greek puns, instead of being the originals, are really substituted and imitated puns. In support of this he cites the remarkable fact, that Jacob of Edessa, as mentioned by Bugari, distinctly affirms that neither the *σχῖνος* nor the *πρῖνος* were known in Babylonia, where the Book of Daniel was doubtless written, while both the pistachio and the pomegranate actually grew there. It would be strange, indeed, to find a writer illustrating his story by a pun involving a reference to objects unknown to those he was addressing.

In a very interesting further long paragraph, Dr. Ball gives some test instances, to show how easy it would be to invent corresponding puns between Hebrew and Aramaic words, and quotes from Brüll what the latter deems the possible Hebrew *paronomasia* imitated in the Greek, and, as we have seen, quite differently imitated in the Syriac, which is a notable point. Dr. Ball adds: "Other such plays on words might be suggested; but these may suffice to show how far

those of the Greek text are from constituting an insuperable objection to the theory of a Hebrew original."

Dr. Swete seems to imply (Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, 261, note) that Kamphausen in his article on Daniel in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* has in some way qualified the value of Ball's learned and most acute criticisms on the additions to Daniel in the *Speakers' Commentary*, probably the very best part of that book.

As a matter of fact Kamphausen (would it be wrong to say *more Germanico*) does not condescend to notice them, and merely repeats a number of obsolete statements, every one of which Ball had completely answered.

It is clear, therefore, that we may put aside the argument based on the existence of *paronomasia* in the Greek of Susanna as a quite inconclusive and ineffective reason for attributing a Greek original to that and the other so-called additions to Daniel, and the whole case for that view falls to the ground, and with it the only valid reason for supposing that these additions were written in a different language to the rest of Daniel itself.

If this was so, the next question is, in what language was Daniel itself originally written. Several writers have supposed that it was written in Hebrew. Mr. Ball suggests that it was written either in Hebrew or Aramaic. I believe it was unquestionably written in Aramaic, and that the Hebrew of the Masoretic text is itself a translation. Jerome, in fact, seems to say so, although the sentence in which he does so is an ambiguous one. Speaking of its language he says, "*quia sermo chaldaicus est*," and Carlstadt, in his work on the Canon published in 1520, so understood him for he says, "*Daniel, qui literis hebraicis sed oratione Chaldea emissus fuerat, varie a Hieronymo indicatur.*"

Spinoza long ago suggested that the first seven chapters of Daniel were taken from an Aramaic chronicle (*Zur Theol.* CX, p. 130), but we have more direct evidence of this than a mere opinion.

The Masoretic text of the Book of Daniel, like that of Ezra, has a very remarkable feature, in that it contains embedded in its narrative a long section written not in Hebrew but in Aramaic. This extends from the 4th verse of chapter ii, where it begins (as Reuss says) in the middle of a section which cannot be divided, that is to say, it begins *in medias res*. Not only so, but its termination is even more noteworthy. The book of Daniel is very easily separable into two portions. The first, the narrative portion, extends to the end of

chapter vi. With chapter vii an entirely new part of the book begins containing not a narrative but a number of visions reported of Daniel. Now the Aramaic portion quite ignores this division and goes on right across the gap and includes the whole of chapter vii, at the end of which it stops, but the subsequent narrative in chapter viii, etc., is perfectly continuous with it in form and sense, there being only a breach in the language. The Aramaic section in Daniel, therefore, is in no sense a foreign boulder or interpolation, but a quite integral part of the narrative.

In regard to the Book of Ezra it has been possible for some to suggest that similar boulders are inserted documents, and, therefore, very naturally given in the vernacular in which they were written. I have shown how this entirely fails to explain the problem in the case of Ezra, and that the only reasonable explanation of it is, that the once united book—Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah was originally an Aramaic chronicle, of which the Masoretic text is a mutilated translation.

The same conclusion, only supported by a much larger body of evidence, seems inevitable in the case of Daniel, where the Aramaic section is not a mere document, but consists of considerable portions of narrative quite continuous with the Hebrew.

Such a patchwork is only explainable, it seems to me, in the case *not of an original work, but of a translation*, in which a writer addressing people who were familiar with Aramaic, which was their vernacular speech, might think it reasonable and advisable to leave portions of the book he was translating into a more classical speech, and which were well known to, and popular with, the people for whom it was specially meant, in their pristine language.

Everyone is agreed that the contents of the Book of Daniel which are not formally theological, but consist of more or less edifying tales, are distinctly popular, and meant for popular edification. This being so, how improbable it would be that, if the book was put together at any time between the 2nd and 3rd century B.C., it should have been written in a dead and classical speech like Hebrew, or in a more or less foreign tongue like Greek, instead of in the vernacular, namely Aramaic, in which large portions still remain.

If the work was originally written in Hebrew for the learned people who understood Hebrew, why should any portion of it be in Aramaic at all? If, on the other hand, as was the case with the Aramaic Chronicles, otherwise known as Chronicles—Ezra—

Nehemiah, it was originally composed in Aramaic, and was translated into Hebrew at the time when the Jewish community was reconstituted after the destruction of Jerusalem, and when, among other things, a new edition of the Bible in the old Sacred tongue was issued, it is at least a plausible explanation of such a work containing considerable fragments of Aramaic writing embedded in it, that a portion of the original text was left untranslated in the form in which it had become familiar.

There is evidence in the language even of the Hebrew parts of Daniel, that the Masoretic text of the whole book was translated from an Aramaic original, thus, Professor Brown has collected a number of Aramaic forms from different parts of the Hebrew text of Daniel, as in chapter 1 ¹, ¹⁷ בִּדְעָה, *knowledge*; כִּנְיָה, *to appoint*, in 1 ⁵, ¹⁰, and ¹¹; חֲיִיב, *to inculpate*, 1 ¹⁰; צִפִּיר, *he-goat*, 8 ⁵, 8, ²¹; רִשָּׁם, *to inscribe*, 10 ²¹; תִּקְהָה, *strength*, 11 ¹⁷; הִזְהִיר, *to shine*, 12 ³. *Introduction to the Old Testament* (506-507).

I would add, in support of the contention in this paper, that the common fact which apparently attaches to Daniel, and to the joint work Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah, in that both, in their Hebrew form, are translations from Aramaic, extends to other points. The Hebrew of the Masoretic text in both is very much alike, pointing to the Aramaic original in both having been translated into Hebrew by the same hand. The same is true of the Septuagint Greek in the two books. In regard to this very important fact, I will quote Dr. Gwynne, who, was, I believe, the first to notice it. He says: "the analogy between this 1 (3) Esdras and the Chisian Daniel goes further still, and extends even to the diction, which in these two books is less Hebraic than in any part of the LXX proper, and characterized by an affectation of greater purity of idiom. One expression which they have in common: ἀπῆρτίσαστο ἀντὰ [τὰ σκεύη] ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτοῦ (Daniel 1 = 3 Esdras II) is so singular, neither the noun nor the verb occurring elsewhere in the Old Testament, that the coincidence cannot be accidental." Dr. Gwynne suggests what seems to me the only possible solution of this fact, namely, that the hand responsible for the language of the Chisian text is also the hand responsible for the language of Esdras A (*Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, III, 977, note¹).

¹ With Dr. Gwynne's additional views about there having been an older Greek text than the Chisian, and as to the real meaning of Esdras A, I am in complete disagreement.

This shows that the Greek of the Septuagint version of Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah and that of Daniel was certainly from the same hand, and adds an additional argument to those I have used in these papers in favour of the original of both books having been Aramaic, which would lead to their being put into the same hands, namely, those who knew that language, for translation.

In conclusion, the view I maintain in regard to both of them is that they were both composed in Aramaic at the time when Aramaic was the vernacular speech of Palestine and of Babylonia. From Aramaic they were translated, as they stood and intact, into Greek by the Alexandrian translators, in whose version they were widely used by Hellenized Jews, from whom it passed to the early Christians. Lastly, about the year 135 A.D., when the history of Modern Judaism commences, when the cult of Hebrew, the old sacred tongue of the race, which had become a dead language except among the learned, was revived, and when a new edition of the Bible was issued in which many changes were made, the two books I have discussed, in an altered and modified form, were translated into Hebrew, and eventually passed into the Masoretic Bibles. This seems to me the only explanation that meets all the facts, and it meets them completely. It also accounts for what has been hitherto a paradox, namely, that the book of Daniel, which has been much esteemed among the Jews, should, nevertheless, not be put among the other Prophetical books in the Hebrew Bible, but remitted like Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah, and probably for the same reason to the Hagiographa, where it does not occupy at all a place of importance, while in the Greek Bibles, and doubtless in the Septuagint, Daniel was treated as the fourth of the Major Prophets, and was placed immediately after Ezekiel.

THE TABLETS OF NEGADAH AND ABYDOS.








BY F. LEGGE.

(Continued from p. 24.)



No. 4.












(See Plate.)

The tablet here given was found by M. Amélineau during the winter of 1897, in the tomb which he has called No. 22 in his *Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, (p. 57). It is of ivory, and has since been sold to the Berlin Museum. The reproduction in the plate is taken from an electrotpe, which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Naville, who had it taken with M. Amélineau's permission, while the tablet was still in the custody of the finder. It bears the hawk-name of the king, whom Prof. Petrie calls Zer, and whom he would make the second king of the Ist Dynasty, while Dr. Sethe would make him the third. It will be noticed that the execution of this tablet is entirely different from that of the preceding Tablets Nos. 1, 2 and 3, and it is probable that if we had no indication of their origin, the connoisseurs of style would long ago have pronounced it to be either much earlier or much later than the tablets of Aha. In connection with this Dr. Wallis Budge has pointed out to me that some of the characters of the present tablet resemble those of the earliest Babylonian script, the tree sign in the formula exactly corresponding to a similar sign on a clay tablet of King Eannadu, now in the British Museum. I do not, however, seek to draw any conclusions from this, believing as I do that the explanation of the greater part of such differences of style are due partly—as M. Maspero has suggested—to the different artistic ideals in different villages, and partly to the difference in the material worked upon.

This tablet is divided, like Nos. 2 and 3, into four registers. The top register begins, as do its predecessors, with the bark, which here nearly obscures the hole pierced for suspension. It differs very much in shape from the similar objects shown on Nos. 1, 2 and 3, not possessing the high stem and stern so characteristic of the other examples. It is here drawn with two deck-houses and three objects which may be flags, but which I am more inclined to regard as palm-trees like those shown upon the carved slate, of which one half is in the British and the other in the Ashmolean Museum (see *P.S.B.A.*, May and June, 1900). If this view be accepted, it will probably be thought that the trees are here represented as standing *behind* the bark. Below the bark are seen two other trees, and three objects probably intended for conventional representations of houses. The usual Egyptian convention regarding perspective would lead us to suppose that these houses (including, perhaps, at least one of those which I have just called deck-houses) and trees are standing on the banks of the river along which the bark is passing, the lower picture showing the nearer bank. Next in the register comes a large rectangle containing a smaller square which clearly denotes an important building. Within the rectangle is seen a bird, probably a hawk, perched upon a knife, while above it appears the sign to be found in the king's name which we will discuss later. On the top of the large rectangle is another bird, which seems to represent the sign  facing another sign which is probably a . Behind this comes a group which may be decomposed into the city sign , surmounted by a sign of which I can make nothing, which is in turn surmounted by another sign, , repeated in the next register. Although I find myself at present unable to propose any reading for this group, it may be pointed out that it seems akin to the two objects  and  represented as following the *srekh* of Aha in two other monuments from Abydos.¹ Immediately after it is a hawk-crowned rectangle bearing the name of the king. The distinctive sign which gives us this last, Dr. Naville declares to be a sort of pavilion or daïs reading *Shesti*, while Dr. Budge and M. Amélineau read it as , *khent*, and Prof. Petrie

¹ De Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, t. ii, p. 241, figs. 813 and 814. The same two signs appear in *R. T.* ii, Pl. III, figs. 1 and 20, and IIIa, fig. 13. See Plate for example.

and Dr. Sethe as , *Zer*. It has already been discussed in my Paper on the *Kings of Abydos* (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1904, p. 133) to which I would refer the reader. Finally comes a bird which appears to be a hawk above the  sign, the group probably reading *suten*. All that can be said with any likelihood as to the reading of this register is that it seems by analogy with the others to refer to the festival at the foundation of some building celebrated by the king whose name appears on the *srekh*.

The second register begins with the *tchesert*, or crown of Lower Egypt, within a cartouche. This last is curious in form, being in effect not a closed line as in later times, but a rope or string coiled round the emblem. After this is a fairly wide gap, only filled by what one would consider another representation of the city sign , were it not that it differs in drawing from that in the top register. Then comes a pavilion like that shown in No. 1, but formed this time with two instead of three lines, and containing within it the two signs  and , which apparently read *neht*. Above the pavilion are the door  and hand  signs, and then comes a crenellated cartouche containing several objects. Reading from left to right these are: The staircase-sign, , the sign  appearing, as we have seen, on the top register, and what is probably the altar, , with certain offerings or other objects piled on it. Then comes the seated figure of a divinity with a headdress like *Safkit*, , and then a sign, the edges of which are too much broken away to be legible. Beyond these comes what appears to be the nome-sign, , with what may be the jackal of Anubis, , seated on a slab underneath. All that I can say of this register is that it appears to me to describe the queen's pavilion belonging to the crown of Lower Egypt, in a city situate in the nome of the jackal, and containing a temple dedicated to *Safki*. But this is entirely conjectural, and I have no great faith in the explanation.

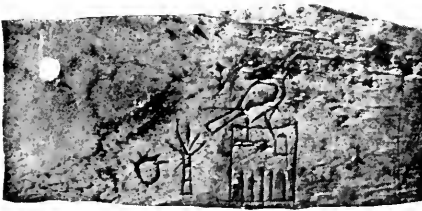
With the third register we come to more familiar ground. It opens with the ibis standing in a crenellated cartouche, which we may read, as in Nos. 2 and 3, as meaning the city of Thoth. Then comes a bark, somewhat resembling the barges in the tablets last mentioned, but with the usual divine canopy amidships, and with high stem and stern, followed by the plants of the North and South respectively,





No. 4.

TABLET FOUND BY M. AMÉLINEAU AT ABYDOS.

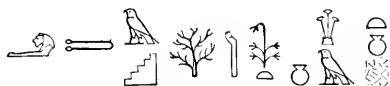
From an Electrotpe copy made from the original.





From *Royal Tombs*, Vol. II, Pl. iii, fig. 1.

having underneath them five vertical strokes, evidently intended as numerals. The register is closed by the signs  and , reading possibly *heb sed*, in front of the ibis, which we may consider the emblem of Thoth. We know that Heb-sed was the name of the festival of the indiction which settled the incidence of the taxes for an unascertained period of time. Does this register mean, that the feast of Heb-sed was held for the North and South for the fifth time in the city of Thoth?

The fourth and lowest register contains, with some variation, the formula that should by now have become familiar to us. It runs thus:—



Reading this in the same manner that we have read its predecessors, this should mean, "At the foundation, the Horus gave to the temple trees (?), ten thousand jars of royal wine from the South, loaves of bread and wine" To get at this, I have had to take the sign  as equivalent to the thumb sign , but I think this can be justified.

On the whole, then, the tablet appears to record the foundation of some house or temple by the king Schesti, Khent, or Zer, possibly upon crown land of Lower Egypt, which were the appanage of the queen, and were situate in a fortified city with a name I have been unable to decipher. The two last registers seem to mean, as I have before said, that at the fifth fixing of the indiction in the City of Thoth for the whole of Egypt, the king gave as a foundation gift to the building named in the top register, so many trees, jars of wine, and loaves. But the whole of this is rather doubtful, and the tablet demands longer study than I have yet been able to give to it. I hope to refer to it again after some of the later tablets have been discussed.

(To be continued.)

THE CHRONOLOGY OF AŠURBÂNIPAL'S REIGN,
B.C. 668-626.

V.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, *M.A.*

Group III. This consists of the Eponymies during which one person Rîmâni-Adadi, the *mukil apâti*, 'holder of the reins,' of the king's household, was prominently engaged in business. The documents concerned with his business bind together in the closest possible connection the Eponymies of—

Marlârîm,
Gabbaru,
Ṭebêtai, the *šaknu* of Bit Ešši,
Mannu-kî-šarri,
Šarru-lûdâri,
Bêl-nâ'id,
Ṭâb-šâr-Sîn,
Arbailai,
Gir-Zapunu.

From Group I we already know that the last of these was followed by Silim-Ašur. The first two are the last names certain at the end of Canon I. Ṭebêtai was not read in this place by G. Smith, in his Eponym Canon, but in his *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 230, he regarded the name as satisfactorily restored. Strassmaier, *A.V.* 3489, gives Ṭebêtai for both B.C. 670 and B.C. 666, without question. As I have shewn, *A.D.D.* § 521, there can be no doubt that the Eponym of B.C. 670 was *Sartînu*, or Chief Justice, while the Ṭebêtai, who was *šaknu* of Bit Ešši, who dates nos. 192, 258, 331, 420, 421 and 627, must be later. The traces left on Canon I for the Eponym

after Gabbaru shew that the name ended in *-ai*. The close connection of the Eponyms of this group shew that no other Eponym has so good a claim to this place. Arbailai is out of question, as Group I shews him to be between Bêl-nâ'id and Gir-Zapunu. Dr. Peiser has presented the arguments for this date clearly in his reconstruction, and, already in *K.B.*, IV, recognised that nos. 258 and 420 belong here.

The traces left of Canon I are given in III R. 1, as if the name ended in *-uṣur*; but Delitzsch, in his edition of the Eponym Canon, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2nd Ed., p. 91, probably recognized, as Dr. Peiser also thinks, that they are rather the traces of *MAN*, the ideogram for *šarru*. Whether this influenced G. Smith in placing Mannu-ki-šarri next, or not, they are at least consistent with that restoration.

But the conviction that Mannu-ki-šarri and Šarru-lûdâri are to be placed in B.C. 665 and B.C. 664, can only be gained by comparing the lists of names dated in these years with those before and after in the above group. Thus Mannu-ki-šarri dates documents which mention three of the persons named in B.C. 668, three of those named in the Eponymy of Tebêtai, two of those in Šarru-lûdâri, two of those in Bêl-nâ'id, three of those in Arbailai, two of those in Gir-Zapunu.

Šarru-lûdâri is even more obviously connected with the Group. He shews seven names common with B.C. 668, eight with B.C. 667, eleven with Tebêtai, two with Mannu-ki-šarri, twelve with Bêl-nâ'id, none with Arbailai, but four again with Gir-Zapunu.

RIMÂNI-ADADI'S GROUP.—Rimâni-Adadi first appears as a *tamkaru*, or commercial agent, in B.C. 676. Then he is only a witness, on no. 256. He next appears to be lending or farming out sheep in B.C. 671, on no. 121. In B.C. 670 he is already a *mukîl apâti* of the king, *i.e.*, Esarhaddon, on no. 172; as also, probably, earlier in the same year, on no. 266. He then appears as principal, usually a buyer, down to B.C. 660, as the reconstructed Canon List shews. In all he appears as principal on no less than thirty-seven documents, on twenty-seven of which he bears the same title, in a more or less full form, that title being merely not preserved on ten more. Of these documents only fourteen preserve a date, which lies between B.C. 671 and B.C. 660. Of these dates, B.C. 671 to B.C. 667 are certain from the existing Canon Lists. According to my arrangement, some of these dated documents occur each year

from B.C. 668 to B.C. 664. In the whole period the only years unrepresented are B.C. 669, and, later, B.C. 662 and B.C. 661.

Consequently, his business affairs are well established while the Canon Lists which guide us are continued over the otherwise doubtful years B.C. 666-664 and well into Group I. It is certain that if we placed the first of Group I in B.C. 663, then our Eponyms are fixed down to B.C. 659.

We have seen that Group II necessarily begins in B.C. 658 and reaches down to B.C. 649. If we were to displace Group I arbitrarily, it must be placed after B.C. 648. Rîmâni-Adadi would then have been active in business from B.C. 671 to B.C. 666, and not a single transaction of his be recorded from B.C. 666 to B.C. 647.

In the same way, the Eponyms I place in B.C. 665 and B.C. 664 would, if moved, have to be postponed to B.C. 647, leaving the years B.C. 658 to B.C. 647 without a reference to him or his witnesses, and then suddenly returning to all the people named for the period B.C. 671 to B.C. 666. If, on the other hand, he had continued to be active down to the end of Group III and then suddenly stopped, we might suspect that Group II did not follow Group III at once. But he ceases to be active within the epoch covered by Group III.

The cogency of the argument is enormously increased by the fact that not only does Rîmâni-Adadi, in the same office, appear right through this group of Eponyms, but he is accompanied by a wonderfully constant set of witnesses, who also for the most part retain their offices, or are promoted, during the period. A study of Rîmâni-Adadi's witnesses will convince the reader that the group is so closely connected that we cannot admit any wide gaps within it.

On the other hand, we may notice that out of the thirty-seven documents, no less than twenty-three have lost their dates. Many of these doubtless fall within the period, but we may expect some to lie either a little before B.C. 671, or a little later than B.C. 660. We may look out for close relationships in the list of names with later years, and such will, if well made out, be confirmations of the places assigned to Group III.

The argument drawn from these recurrences does not exclude the insertion of one or more Eponyms between members of the group. It is, of course, possible that, say after B.C. 666, there were

more than two Eponyms before Group I began. But, as we have seen, Belšunu must be as high as we can put him above B.C. 647. We cannot put him higher than B.C. 648, without displacing one of this Group, now under consideration. We cannot therefore admit any other Eponym between members of this Group.

Lastly there remains the uncertainty whether the order of the two Eponyms for B.C. 665 and B.C. 664 could be inverted. To this no definite answer can now be given. Those who consider that the *šaknu* of Dûr-Šarrûkin would be more in place after three other *šaknuûte*, are welcome to their opinion. I have no effective reply. But, so far as it goes, there is a gradation and regular rise in offices among the persons in the name lists, as they stand. That a *šakû*, even if really the same officer as a Rabšakê, would necessarily precede the Tartânu is not clear. It may have become the higher title, after the creation of the two-fold offices of 'Tartan of the right' and 'Tartan of the left,' which was actually in force at this period. But while I doubt the inferior official taking office as Eponym before the superior, there are so many deviations from order in the previous reigns that the argument has little weight of itself.

There is every probability that Rîmâni-Adadi survived B.C. 660. But at present we cannot produce his name from a later dated document. What office would be held by a *mukil apâti dannu ša šarri*, on a promotion, is difficult to say. In Ep. R. the same name is borne by a scribe of the *rab êkalli*. That was surely a very subordinate office. The *mušarkis* named in the letter K. 655; the *šalšu* on no. 244; even the *rab bît ilâni* of Ašur, on no. 261, are possibly mentions of our subject at different points of his career, but they are not dated. The *mukil apâti* named on K. 1359, no. 857, is probably our man. But a *mutîr pûti*, on K. 8134, seems to belong to a different category of officials.

I shall now give a list of the documents which are concerned with Rîmâni-Adadi's transactions, as far as possible arranged in chronological order, of which *d e f g h i j k l m n l' m'* certainly fall within Group III. Then a list of the names of Rîmâni-Adadi's contemporaries and their offices, as given by these documents, will follow. A glance at the list, and the letters suffixed to each name, will shew how often each person is associated with Rîmâni-Adadi. The title which he bears in each document is added, and the list is closed by a few documents which carry the same set of witnesses.

RĪMĀNI-APĀTI'S DOCUMENTS.

<i>a</i>	K. 6107,	A.D.D. no. 121,	Nisānu 1st,	B.C. 671,	
<i>b</i>	K. 416,	A.D.D. no. 266,	Addaru 1st,	B.C. 670,	<i>mukil apāti</i>
<i>c</i>	K. 327,	A.D.D. no. 172,	Ulûlu 20th,	B.C. 670,	<i>mukil apāti</i> ša šarri
<i>d</i>	K. 387,	A.D.D. no. 65,	Aaru 20th,	B.C. 668,	. . . . .
<i>e</i>	Bu. 91-5-9,	A.D.D. no. 200,	Nisānu ?	B.C. 667,	<i>mukil apāti dannu</i> ša Ašurbânipal šarri māti Aššur
<i>f</i>	K. 347,	A.D.D. no. 258,	Du'ûzu 10th?	B.C. 666,	<i>mukil apāti</i> ša šarri
<i>g</i>	Bu. 89-4-26, 7,	A.D.D. no. 60,	?	B.C. 666,	<i>mukil apāti dannu</i> ša šarri
<i>h</i>	K. 306,	A.D.D. no. 420,	Addaru 1st,	B.C. 665,	<i>mukil apāti</i> ša Ašurbânipal šarri māti Aššur
<i>i</i>	K. 365,	A.D.D. no. 35,	Ṭebētu 22nd,	B.C. 665,	<i>mukil apāti dannu</i>
<i>j</i>	83-1-18, 461b,	A.D.D. no. 331,	Šabātu 1st,	B.C. 665,	<i>mukil apāti dannu</i> ša Ašurbânipal šarri māti Aššur
<i>k</i>	82-5-22, 29,	A.D.D. no. 237,	Šabātu 10th,	B.C. 665,	<i>hél apāti</i>
<i>l</i>	K. 404,	A.D.D. no. 115,	Ṭebētu 25th,	B.C. 664,	<i>mukil apāti</i>
<i>m</i>	K. 325,	A.D.D. no. 470,	Ṭebētu 25th,	B.C. 663,	. . . . .
<i>n</i>	K. 317,	A.D.D. no. 444,	Du'ûzu 26th,	B.C. 660,	<i>mukil apāti</i>
<i>o</i>	81-2-4, 153,	A.D.D. no. 174,	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>mukil apāti</i>
<i>p</i>	K. 1511,	A.D.D. no. 451,	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>mukil apāti</i>
<i>q</i>	Bu. 91-5-9, 166,	A.D.D. no. 183,	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>mukil apāti dannu</i>
<i>r</i>	K. 1140,	A.D.D. no. 187,	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>mukil apāti dannu</i>
<i>s</i>	K. 1485,	A.D.D. no. 203,	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>mukil apāti dannu</i> ša Ašurbânipal šarri māti Aššur

<i>t</i>	80-7-9, 140,	A.D.D. no. 271,	. . . . .	<i>mukil apâti dannu ša Ašurbânipal šarri mâti Aššur</i>
<i>u</i>	K. 1505,	A.D.D. no. 322,	. . . . .	<i>mukil apâti dannu ša Ašurbânipal šarri mâti Aššur</i>
<i>v</i>	K. 1447,	A.D.D. no. 418,	. . . . .	<i>mukil apâti dannu ša Ašurbânipal šarri mâti Aššur</i>
<i>w</i>	K. 1499,	A.D.D. no. 448, Šabâtu,	. . . . .	<i>mukil apâti dannu ša Ašurbânipal šarri mâti Aššur</i>
<i>x</i>	K. 446,	A.D.D. no. 471,	. . . . .	<i>mukil apâti dannu ša Ašurbânipal šarri mâti Aššur</i>
<i>y</i>	83-1-18, 382,	A.D.D. no. 116,	. . . . .	<i>mukil apâti dannu ša Ašurbânipal šarri mâti Aššur</i>
<i>z</i>	83-1-18, 689,	A.D.D. no. 270,	. . . . .	<i>mukil apâti ša šarri mâti Aššur</i>
<i>a'</i>	K. 9747,	A.D.D. no. 419,	. . . . .	<i>mukil apâti ša Ašurbânipal šarri mat Aššur</i>
<i>b'</i>	83-1-18, 348,	A.D.D. no. 424,	. . . . .	<i>mukil apâti ša šarri mâti Aššur</i>
<i>c'</i>	K. 430,	A.D.D. no. 260,	. . . . .	<i>mukil apâti ša dunanâte</i>
<i>d'</i>	K. 1563,	A.D.D. no. 247,	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>e'</i>	K. 448,	A.D.D. no. 477,	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>f'</i>	83-1-18, 353,	A.D.D. no. 503,	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>g'</i>	K. 1507,	A.D.D. no. 571,	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>h'</i>	K. 1510,	A.D.D. no. 599,	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>i'</i>	83-1-18, 579,	A.D.D. no. 596,	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>j'</i>	83-1-18, 723,	A.D.D. no. 611, Tebêtu 28th,	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>k'</i>	Ba. 89-4-26, 59,	A.D.D. no. 615,	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>l'</i>	K. 399,	A.D.D. no. 801, Du'ûzu 21st,	B.C. 666,	. . . . .
<i>m'</i>	81-7-27, 28,	A.D.D. no. 421, Addaru 1st,	B.C. 665,	. . . . .

RÎMÂNI-ADADI'S WITNESSES AND CONTEMPORARIES.—This list is confined to those persons whose names appear on the documents where he is a principal. It may be increased considerably by the addition of names from the other name-lists of B.C. 671 to B.C. 660. Of course, he was of some age in B.C. 671, and the name-lists of some twenty years before that, at any rate, must consist of his contemporaries. The name-lists of some years after B.C. 660, to the date of his death, which we do not know, will also consist of his contemporaries. But we have no manner of certainty as to how far we should carry the limits in either direction. The list here given is in the most useful form for settling the connections of his group.

- Abail, *rab* (*w*)
 Adadi-aḥê-iddin (*d'*)
 Adadi-uballit, *šalšu* (*m*)
 Adadi-ilai (*a*)
 Adadi-nâšir, *aba* of (*n*)
 Adadi-ḫassun, son of Adadi-išmeâni (*b c e'*)
 Adadi-šallim, son of Aḫâ (*k*)
 Adadi-šar-ušur (*k b*), (*b*) son of Ašur-šallim, (*k*) *ša eli ali*
 Adadi-šum-ušur, *rab* (*w*)
 Adi, *mukil apâti* (*e'*)
 Aḥû-amur, *rakbu* (*e m*). (*m*) *rakbu tabrâte*
 Aḥû-asu (*c*)
 Aḥû-lâmašši, *šalšu šarri* (*g h m x m'*)
 Aḥû-lâmur, *rab alâni* (*u w*)
 Aḥi-dûri (*w*)
 Aḥi-êreš (*n*)
 Aḥi-ilai (*k*)
 Aṣḫudi, *aba* of Ninûai (*m*)
 Aplai (*m*)
 Aḫaba (*w*)
 Arbai (*c'*)
 Arbailai, *šanû* of Barḫalza (*a y b'*)
 Ašur-aḥêšu-êreš, *aba* (*c'*)
 Ašur-damiḫ (*c'*)
 Ašur-eṭir (*d*)
 Ašur-ilai (*e f l x y l'*), (*e*) son of, (*l*) *rab kišir mutîr pûti*
 Ašur-kêniš-ušur (*v*)
 Ašur-kîa (*w*)

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION, 1907.

Second Meeting, February 13th, 1907.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E.*, &c.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Publishers.—“*Unterricht im Alten Testament.*” By Dr. G. Rothstein.

From W. L. Nash, Esq.—“*The Penetration of Arabia.*” By D. G. Hogarth.

From the Author, Lieut.-Col. W. H. Turton, *D.S.O.*—“*The Truth of Christianity.*” 6th edition.

BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The following donations have been received :—

February, 1907 :—

The Hon. Miss E. Plunket (<i>2nd donation</i>)	£1	1	0
W. L. Nash, Esq. (<i>3rd donation</i>)... ..	1	1	0

Mrs. Aitken, 139, Elm Park Mansions,
Mrs. Penrose, 44, Finchley Road,
were elected Members of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—

E. J. PILCHER, ESQ. : “*The Himyaritic Script, derived from the Greek.*”

Thanks were returned for this communication.

ST. MENAS OF ALEXANDRIA.

BY MARGARET A. MURRAY.

(Continued from page 30.)

The site of the church of "St. Menas in Mareotis," so long celebrated as the chief place of pilgrimage in Egypt, has been entirely lost, but many indications remain which appear to point to the spot.

EPIPHANIUS¹⁶ says that the church of St. Menas was nine miles west from Alexandria; but this is evidently a mistake for the great monastery of the Ennaton, which owes its name to its position nine miles away from the capital. The church of St. Menas lay at a still greater distance; and though the site can only be identified by excavations on the spot, still the indications for finding it may be mentioned here.

The historian SEVERUS¹⁷ gives one definite indication as to the position of the church. The patriarch Benjamin in the 7th century A.D. was celebrating Mass one Christmas Day in the Stoa Angelôn at Alexandria, when a deputation of monks arrived to request him to come to the Dair Macarius in the desert in order to consecrate the newly-built church. Benjamin acceded to the request, and travelled by way of Al Muna (*i.e.*, the town of St. Menas) and Mount Barnûj to the monastery of Baramûs, which he made his head-quarters while visiting the monasteries in the neighbourhood. He left Alexandria on the 2nd of Tubah, spent two days at Al Muna, and one at Baramus, arriving at the convent of Macarius on the 7th of Tubah; five days in all, of which two only were spent in travelling, *i.e.*, part of one day from Alexandria to Al Muna, parts of two days from Al Muna to Baramus.

¹⁶ DRESSSEL, *Epiphanius ed. et ined.*, p. 5.

¹⁷ EVETTS, *Hist. of Patriarchs: Patr. Orient.*, t. I, p. 506.

ABU SALIH¹⁸ tells us that in A.D. 630, Benjamin fled from Alexandria just before the Mahomedan conquest, and went on foot by night along the Maryût road until he arrived at Al Muna, whence he travelled to Wadi Habib. The Arabic gives the words "going on foot" (*mashi al rigl*) and "travelling" (*mdy*), apparently emphasising the distinction between the two, as though he had here obtained means for a more rapid flight. Here, then, we have proof that the church of St. Menas lay between Alexandria and Baramus, that it was within a night's journey on foot from Alexandria by way of Maryût, and from the fact of Benjamin's apparently obtaining there an animal or some other means of being conveyed further and more rapidly on his way, it would appear to be on the edge of the desert, or at any rate not far from the cultivated land.

QUATREMÈRE,¹⁹ quoting from an unknown Arab geographer of the 12th century, gives still further indications as to the site: "Leaving Tarranah and following the road towards Barca,²⁰ one comes to Mina, which consists of three abandoned towns in the midst of a sandy desert with their buildings still standing. The Arabs use it as a place for lying in wait against travellers. There may be seen lofty and well-built palaces with enclosure walls about them; they are mostly built over vaulted colonnades and some few serve as dwellings for monks. There are some springs of fresh water, but somewhat scanty." These springs appear to me to offer another possible method of identifying the site. St. Menas was a saint of healing, and the earliest cures performed at his shrine were effected by the earth and water from his grave smeared upon the patient. If, as seems probable from the cure of the sick sheep, the diseases healed by St. Menas were those of the skin, a mineral spring, either sulphur or arsenic, would account for the miracles.

On the ordnance map of the district round Lake Mareotis a spot at the south-east of the lake is called Tel Muineh, and would appear to indicate the position of the ancient church. But on writing these particulars to Mr. RALPH CARVER of Alexandria, who had offered to make enquiries, I received a reply from which I quote *verbatim*:—

"August 26th, 1905.—I made several enquiries for the Tel Muineh which I found marked on the French survey map of 1818,

¹⁸ ABU SALIH, *Transl. Butler and Everett*, p. 230, note 2.

¹⁹ QUATREMÈRE, *Mem. Hist. G'og.*, I, p. 488.

²⁰ Abu Salih remarks, "It is said that Barkah is also called the Five Cities" [*i.e.*, Pentapolis].

but which is completely ignored in the Domaines survey of 1897. The Bedouins did not know of any place corresponding to the name. I gave one Bedouin an idea of the sort of place I wanted to find in Mariout district, and he presently told me of an old ruined city called Tel Abumna, which at once struck me as a likely corruption from Abu Menas.

"To visit this ruin I took the Mariout train to Behig, a distance of 39 kilometres from Gabbari, due west. From Behig I rode for two hours south-east, making a distance of perhaps 108 kiloms; thus if one came in a straight line from Alexandria it would be roughly 35 kiloms. I think Benjamin would have accomplished this journey on foot quite easily and his route would naturally take him past Mariout, whereas if the site is at Tel Muineh it would be rather out of his way to go *via* Mariout.

"The ruins on the mound of Abumna are fairly extensive and measure perhaps $\frac{3}{4}$ mile long (east to west) and $\frac{1}{4}$ mile broad. On the north side are several small mounds which contained masses of broken pottery, and we soon found two broken pieces of Menas-bottles lying on the surface. We had little time for any digging, so unfortunately had nothing to show for our expedition.


"On a small rise on the east we found a well, very strongly built, and here and there we saw small concrete canals evidently used for irrigation, as in the gardens here.

"On the south side there is a long mound covered with cut stones, about 18 inches square by 4 inches thick; these are in utter ruin and only in two or three places is there any appearance of building. This must have been the central spot of the town, and there is another big well in the centre with a masonry arch over it. I could find no trace of any columns though one of the Bedouins said he remembered having seen one lying about, but could not discover it. These big ruins occupy a length of some 400 yards by 80 yards, and should have been an immense building.

"To the north of this ruin is a hollow which looks as if it might have been used for a garden, and was probably dug out when the church was built.

"To the south there is another long mound divided from the first by a small wady, on which there were more stones, but bigger and for the most part arranged in some sort of order; these I think were graves as the stones were found in circles, and inside the circles remains of bones. This mound is not nearly as broad as the first

one but runs parallel with it, and on the outside, *i.e.*, the south, the caravan road used to run. This therefore looks like the place where the robbers lay in wait for travellers, as it would be easy to hide either among the graves or in the wady between the church and the cemetery.

"Continuing the cemetery mound round to the east I found three graves in a row with two separate stones bearing this mark,  and this was the only inscription of any sort found in the whole place.

"I have it on fairly good evidence that numbers of the bottles have been found there. The whole place looks as if it had never been touched since the day it was deserted, so that it ought to yield a rich harvest to any competent digger.²¹

"I have asked the local Bedouins if there were any traditions about the place, but only learnt that the Tel was full of evil spirits, and that no one dared go near the place after dark; I tried hard to find someone who had actually seen the *afreet*, but no one present had, though all knew of others who had seen him covered with fire. The curious part is that Tel Abumna is the only place in Mariout that the Bedouins are afraid of, and all know the reputation."

This letter seems to prove, as far as it is possible to prove without excavation, that Tel Abumna is the site of the "Church of St. Menas in Mareotis." The name, the position, the nature of the ruins, all point to the same conclusion. To my mind, one very strong proof is the well in the middle of what is presumably the church. The cures were effected by means of earth and water, and the woman, whom St. Agathon the Stylite discredited, had dug a well and also effected cures by water in the name of St. Menas. I have already suggested that the miracles of healing had a foundation in fact, that fact being a mineral spring; and it is reasonable to suppose that this sacred well would be enclosed in the church, so as to be under the control of the guardians of the shrine. The Menas-flasks were intended to hold water taken from the sacred well, the curative properties of which would be as effective at a distance as at the spring itself.²²

²¹ Herr Kaufmann's excavations on this spot have proved that this is indeed the site of the historic church of St. Menas (KAUFMANN, *Die Ausgrabung der Menas-Heiligtümer*).

²² KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

The church of St. Menas was founded, according to the legend, by an unnamed emperor of Constantinople whose daughter was miraculously cured by the saint. Probably the original building was merely a small shrine where the sick came to pray, and where they presented their offerings when they left. During the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, the original church was either pulled down and rebuilt, or restored and enlarged; therefore the building which was the goal of so many pilgrimages in the 5th and 6th centuries, dates from this period. But we know almost nothing of the church during its palmy days; it is only when the Mahomedans subdued Egypt, and Christians suffered persecution at the hands of their conquerors, that we get occasional glimpses of this celebrated structure.

Lying at a distance from the capital it did not enter into the daily lives of the people like the church of St. Mark or the Stoa Angelōn, nor was it a large and popular monastery like the convent of St. Macarius. From what we can gather from the scanty records that remain, it was a place of pilgrimage served by a small number of priests; filled to overflowing on festival days, at other times comparatively empty; wealthy, owing to the gifts of the pilgrims, and beautiful according to the canons of art of the period.

The church is described by the same Arab historian whose account of the site is given above (p. 52).²³ "Next, one comes to the church of St. Mīnâ, a huge building embellished with statues and paintings of the greatest beauty. There tapers burn day and night without ceasing. At one end of the building is a vast tomb with two camels in marble, and upon them the statue of a man carved in marble, who is standing, one foot upon each camel: one of his hands is open, the other shut. This figure is said to represent St. Mīnâ. On the right as you enter the church is a great marble column, in which a shrine is carved containing figures of Jesus, John, and Zacharias; the door of the shrine is kept closed. There is also to be seen the figure of the Virgin Mary covered by two curtains, and figures of all the prophets. Outside the church are figures representing all kinds of animals and men of all occupations. . . . Among the rest is a slave-merchant holding in his hand an open purse. Over the midst of the church rises a dome, beneath which are eight figures said to represent angels."

²³ BUTLER, *Arab Conquest*, p. 177, note 2.

It was here that the Patriarch Benjamin (A.D. 622-661)²⁴ came on his way to consecrate the church in the great convent of St. Macarius in the Wady Natrûn. Later, he came again, not as the head of a great and powerful organization, but as a fugitive, on foot and by night, flying from the infidel hordes who were conquering the country. From Al Muna he made his way to the Wady Natrûn, where he disappeared for thirteen years, hidden from the enemy by his faithful followers, and only re-appearing when the Arab ruler issued a proclamation requesting him to return to his rightful position.

The next mention of the church²⁵ is during the patriarchate of Michael I (A.D. 743-767). At this time the feud between the Melkite and Jacobite party had become very acute, both declaring themselves the National Church, and both claiming possession of all the churches in Egypt. The chief battle was fought over the church of St. Menas, which, from its wealth and fame, was a prize worth having. Cosmas the Melkite patriarch appealed to the governor, Hassan ibn Sohail, who was friendly to Christians, to give the great church of St. Menas with its revenues to the party of which he, Cosmas, was the head. But Hassan ibn Sohail appears to have been a just man, and refused to interfere until he should understand both sides of the question. Both claimants—the patriarch of the Melkites and the patriarch of the Jacobites—were told to draw up a statement to be laid before the governor, who would then adjudge the case on its own merits. Michael called his bishops together, and with their help compiled a document, which was written in both Coptic and Arabic, setting forth the doctrines of Christianity with proofs adduced from the Scriptures, and also giving the history of the church of St. Menas from its foundation by Theophilus the patriarch in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, and showing how greatly the Jacobites had suffered at the hands of the Melkites, especially in having their churches taken from them by force. The Melkites failed to prove their right to the church of St. Menas, and Hassan ibn Sohail returned it to its rightful owners, the Jacobites. Under the strong rule of Michael the Christians had peace for eleven years before his death, but the lot of the Faithful in Egypt was continual persecution, and the church of St. Menas suffered accordingly.

²⁴ The names and dates of the patriarchs are taken from Mrs. BUTCHER'S *Story of the Church in Egypt*.

²⁵ RENAUDOT, *Hist. Patr. Alex.*, p. 213.

About this time, among the priests of the church of St. Menas, was one named John, who later on rose to the Patriarchate (A.D. 766–799). Undoubtedly, he used his influence and power to avert trouble from the magnificent church in which he had served, and to increase its prestige, for in the reign of his immediate successor, Mark II²⁶, (A.D. 799–818) we find the church being used for an important ceremony. A certain sect of Christians applied to the patriarch to be admitted into the Jacobite church; Mark received them but only on certain conditions; one being, that as their orders were not recognised, their bishop was not properly consecrated and could not be received except as an ordinary priest. The conditions were accepted and the sect was absorbed into the Jacobite church. When, after a year or more, the patriarch was convinced of their sincerity, he re-consecrated the bishop, and to add to the impressiveness of the ceremony it was held in the great church of St. Menas. The building was filled to overflowing, for it was the festival day of the church when great crowds always assembled; and in the presence of this vast congregation, the new bishop and his son were re-ordained, and robed in the episcopal vestments.

But there could be only one end to a church with so great a reputation for wealth and beauty, when the rulers of the country were also persecutors. A certain Eleazar²⁷ came to Egypt with orders from the “emperor” to carry off and send to him the most beautiful marble columns he could find. The Melkites were not slow to seize the opportunity of being revenged on the Jacobites by spoiling their churches, and the church of St. Menas was the one to which they directed their attention. The plundering of this great church was naturally exactly what Eleazar wished, for in it were columns of rare and precious marbles “ornamented with relics,” excelling in beauty any columns in Alexandria or even in the whole of Egypt. Joseph the Patriarch (A.D. 837–849) opposed the spoliation with all his power but in vain; Eleazar removed the pillars, tore up the decorated pavement, and looted the church, carrying away the spoil to Alexandria. The Patriarch, finding he could not prevent this wholesale robbery, took other measures; he collected workmen, and repaired the damage replacing the ornamentation and restoring what had been destroyed. It is the decoration done at this period which

²⁶ RENAUDOT, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

²⁷ RENAUDOT, *op. cit.* p. 288.

was still to be seen in the 12th century, and which excited the admiration of the Arab historian quoted by QUATREMÈRE. In spite of Joseph's determined action, the sacking of the church was the beginning of the end; we catch one more glimpse before the final scene.

When Cosmas II²⁸ occupied the chair of St. Mark (A. D. 851-859), Ahmed ibn Dinar was governor of Alexandria. He as well as the other rulers of Egypt was a cruel persecutor of the Christians. Every kind of humiliation was heaped upon the "Nazarenes"; they were forced to wear a peculiar dress, and one which exposed the women to insult, they were dismissed from any office which they might hold, and their lives were made as burdensome as possible. In spite of persecution, or perhaps an account of it, the Christians held firmly to their faith and their forms of worship. One festival which was always observed was that of St. Menas, the 11th of November, according to the Eastern Calendar. On this day the people went in crowds to his church, in Cairo to the church near Old Cairo, in Alexandria to the celebrated church to the south of Lake Mareotis. It was here that on the day of the festival, two men fought to the death, and one appears to have been killed actually in the church. This was Ahmed ibn Dinar's opportunity, and he was not slow to use it. Making the crime his excuse, he cast Cosmas into prison until he extorted from the unfortunate patriarch all the gifts presented by the Christians as alms in that church. This seems to show that the gifts of the pilgrims, even in the time of persecution, were very considerable.

But persecution rigorously applied ends very often in cutting off a source of revenue which is generally most acceptable to the persecutors. The reputation and wealth of the church of St. Menas inflamed the bigotry of the Mahomedans, and the end came before the close of the century. In the patriarchate of Shenoude I (859-869),²⁹ the Arab forces wrecked the Christian churches and monasteries in the province of Alexandria, destroying and burning them. The church of St. Menas was so utterly ruined and the Christians so disheartened that there was no possibility of repairing the building; it was abandoned, and the town which had grown up round the church was deserted also, as its *raison d'être* was destroyed.

²⁸ RENAUDOT, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

²⁹ RENAUDOT, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

The church of St. Menas figures largely in the accounts of the miracles performed by the saint. The events narrated are apparently supposed to take place before the Arab conquest, when the cult of St. Menas was at its height, and when the church was the resort of pilgrims from all countries.

Two miracles narrated by Surius show the high estimation in which the church itself was held. A certain rich man of Alexandria, named Eutropius, had two silver dishes made, one for himself and one to be presented in the church of St. Menas, the dishes being stamped with the respective names of the saint and himself. When the dishes were completed that of St. Menas was so much better than the other that Eutropius determined to keep it for himself and to present the inferior dish to the church. On his way across the lake from Alexandria to St. Menas' church, he used the silver dish at his dinner in the boat. After the meal, his slave washed the dish over the side of the boat, a sudden darkness came on, the dish slipped through the slave's fingers, and sank into the waters. The slave, afraid to face his master's wrath, sprang overboard and was drowned. Eutropius suddenly realized the enormity of his offence and repented of his sin; and immediately the slave was seen following the boat, holding the dish in his hands. On reaching the boat, he narrated how St. Menas and two companions had appeared and rescued him from his perilous plight. Eutropius, greatly impressed by this miracle, made his way to the church where he presented not only both the silver dishes, but the slave as well, for the service of the saint.

The second miracle shows even more clearly the sanctity of the shrine, a false oath sworn in that place being followed by condign punishment. A Jew of Alexandria when going on a journey left his purse and goods under the care of a Christian. On his return, he asked for his property, but the dishonest Christian denied having received anything from him. The Jew, unable to prove his case, asked the Christian if he were prepared to swear to the truth of his, the Christian's, statement in the church of St. Menas. The Christian readily assented, and the two went together to the church where the Christian swore the required oath. On the return journey the Christian's horse stumbled and threw its rider, out of whose pocket a ring fell. The Christian appears to have known that he was risking the displeasure of the saint by making a false oath in his church and was evidently expecting retribution, he therefore thought

the fall was the destined punishment, not having noticed the loss of the ring. But a little later when he and the Jew were having a meal together, a slave appeared with the Jew's purse which he handed to its rightful owner, saying that a knight had come to the Christian's wife and asked for the purse, producing the Christian's ring as his authority. The knight was no doubt St. Menas in *propria persona*, the Jew recovered all his property, was converted, and in gratitude to the saint made large offerings to his church.

(To be continued.)

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF
THE BIBLE.

VII.

*Daniel and Chronicles.*By SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S., etc.*

(Continued from page 38.)

The argument for a separate and late origin for the so-called additions, based on the contention that they were composed in Greek and not in Semitic like the rest of Daniel, and are interpolations, and not integral parts of the original text, has been similarly pressed by many modern writers, notably in Germany, where the Rabbinical tradition and the supremacy of the Masoretic text have dominated very largely the Criticism of the Bible during the last century.

It seems to me that a considerable light is available for the settling of this question in the fact that we have two Greek versions of these fragments and additions, differing not only in phraseology and language, but also materially in contents. I mean the Septuagint text and that of Theodotion. This difference makes it plain, as Eichhorn, indeed, urged long ago, that they are, in a large measure, independent translations of some original. It cannot be maintained for a moment that Theodotion's is a new edition or rechauffée of the Septuagint. What necessity can be urged, or what virtue would there be, in any new edition which merely consisted in recasting an existing Greek text like the Septuagint and changing its vocabulary and putting it into a new syntactical dress? Theodotion's purpose and method in all his other work, so far as we know it, was very different to this, namely, to correct the Septuagint by the Hebrew. In this case, according to the critics I am answering, there was no Hebrew, and Theodotion's work, therefore, would be a mere word-play and trifling, and the making, not of a new transla-

tion, but the creation of a kind of Greek Targum upon a Greek version already existing, and which, in the case of this book, was an exceptionally good version. Dr. Pusey, in fact, says of it, "the Greek itself of the Book of Daniel is in many parts purer and more elegant than that of any of the Septuagint translators." He adds what is very interesting in view of the contention here urged, "the translator avoided Hebraisms, which Theodotion subsequently restored" (Pusey's *Daniel the Prophet*, p. 398 and note). Assuredly these Hebraisms are inexplicable and utterly paradoxical unless we allow that they were derived by him from some Semitic original which he had before him. They could hardly be due to a mere wanton wish to sophisticate the good Greek of the Septuagint by foreign barbarisms. Besides, as Dr. Ball says, his text differs in many places substantially in matter, showing that he had a different text before him than the Septuagint when he was translating (see the Book of Susanna, *Speaker's Commentary, Apocrypha II*, 330). Let us pass on, however.

Those who deny a former Semitic original for the additions to Daniel, profess to find no traces of Semitic influence in their language. This is surely due to that form of blindness which will not see. Thus, in regard to the so-called Prayer of Azarias and Hymn of the Three Children, Eichhorn seems to me to show very plainly that the Greek translators of these so-called insertions had an original Aramaic or Hebrew text before them, which has greatly affected the terminology and the ideology of the language (*Einleitung in das alte Testament*, IV, 426-430). See also Bertholdt (*Einleitung*, II, 1567). Bertholdt's prejudices are the other way, but he is constrained to say in regard to these two documents, "Ausserdem kommen noch so viele harte Aramäismen vor, dass man es mit Eichhorn nicht blos für zweifelhaft halten kann: ob dieses Gebet ursprünglich in griechischer oder in aramäischer Sprache niedergeschrieben worden sei; sondern man muss bestimmt für das letzte entscheiden." (*Id.*, 1568.)

In regard to Susanna, Driver also speaks of the Hebraisms in the text of the document, and specially cites the phrase *καὶ ἦν ἀνὴρ σῶλον* (וְהָיָה אִישׁ יוֹשֵׁב) and the majority of the verses beginning with *καὶ* (וְ), which particle, occurring in the way it does several times in short verses, is quite a Hebrew and non-Greek syntactic feature. The phrases *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*, v, 14; *καὶ ἐγένετο*, v, 7, 15, 19 and 28, and *ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνός* in verse 52 again, are not legitimately Greek but Hebraisms.

In regard to Bel and the Dragon, Driver also quotes several Hebraisms in the Greek, as, for example, ἐνδοξος ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ in verse 1, πάσης σαρκὸς κυρεῖαν in verse 4, εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Βήλ in verse 10, ἐν τῇ δακτυλίῳ verse 13.

He also mentions how καὶ occurs eight times in the 13th and 26th verses, and καὶ εἶπε in the whole narrative quite often, just like וַיֹּאמֶר in the Hebrew.

Cornill also refers to the fact that in the so-called additions, the translations of Theodotion and of the Seventy are separate and distinct, and points out that there are considerable discrepancies between them. He then goes on to speak of the Hebraisms they contain. Thus, he says, "Accedit hebraismorum frequentia quam in Alexandrini tam in Theodotionis versione; quin etiam Theodotion nonnullis in locis, in quibus Alexandrinus phrasin vere graecam habet, hebraicam retinuit, ita ut ejus hebraismis non tantum nostra assertio demonstretur, sed etiam prius argumentum corroboretur" (*Historiæ et Criticæ*, Intro., 1889, etc., 420). He then quotes in a note some Hebraisms which are contained in Theodotion's translation but not in the Septuagint; thus, he says, "Babylonii in utraque versione dicuntur ἀποστάται," see 3, 32 (from the Hebrew בּוֹגְדִים, rebels and violent men); 3, 46 κάοντες τὴν κάμινον νάφθαν κτλ, duplicem accusationem evitavit Alex., ὑπέκαιον ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτῶν νάφθαν κτλ; 3, 40, nec Theod., ἐκτελέσαι ὁπισθεν, nec Alex., ἐξιλιάσαι ὁπισθὲν σου intelliguntur, nisi supposito Hebr. אַחֲרַיָּךְ נָבוֹא (ut perfecto sequamur te) *cfr.* Numbers xvi, 24; xxxii, 11, *sq.*, etc. In historia Susannæ attente ad continuum usum particulæ καὶ (a qua solus Theodot. apodasin inchoat, xiii, 19), pronominum αὐτοῦ αὐτῆς αὐτῶν (xiii, 3, 4, 30, 63, ubi Alex. ea plerumque prætermittit), ad formulam καθὼς χθὲς καὶ τρίτης ἡμέρας (xiii, 15, ubi Alex., κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς), *cfr.* xiii, 24, 61, etc. In tertia pericope, xiv, 13, κατασεῖειν a Theod. ponitur pro Hebr. הִכִּיף (huc illuc agitavit; sparsit), dum Alex. versum perspicue expressit; *ibid.* Theod. σφραγίσαι ἐν τῇ δακτυλίῳ, sed Alex. omittit ἐν (Heb. ב), xiv, 14. Theodotio in apodasi iterum adhibet καὶ, id quod evitat Alex. etc. (*id.* 420, note).

Kaulen in his *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, 1893, takes the same view. He says the style of the so-called additions is not distinguishable from that of the main work.

He also lays stress on the independence of the two translations. Thus he says: "beide Texte stehen so selbständig nebeneinander,

dass eine Abhängigkeit des einen vom andern nicht denkbar ist. Beide sind vielmehr selbständige Übersetzungen und werden als solche in dem Syrisch-hexaplarischen Texte berücksichtigt" (p. 400). He also speaks of the Hebraisms they contain. Thus, he says: "gibt es darin einzelne Ausdrücke, welche nur als Übersetzungen aus einer semitischen Sprache möglich sind; in iii, 40, ἐκτελέσαι ὁπισθὲν σου Th. ἐξιδάσαι ὁπισθὲν σου LXX; ferner in dem Lobgesange der Jünglinge die Wiederholungen ἐρόςος, verses 64 and 68, Th. LXX; καῦμα verses 66 and 67, Th.; ψῶχος, verses 67 and 71 Th., wo im Original gewiss verschiedene Ausdrücke gestanden haben; in Susannas Geschichte das unzählige Male wiederholte καὶ selbst in Nachsatze 19, das oft wiederkehrende αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, αὐτῶν statt des Suffixes z. B. 30 (? 60 and 61) (der Ausdruck αἰρετόν μοί ἐστιν ἁμαρτεῖν, 23) ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς ὃν τρόπον ἐπουρηύσαντο τῇ πλησίον ποιῆσαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωυσῆ u.a.: In Kap. 14, besonders, v. 14, καὶ in Nachsatz; sowie ἐσφραγίσαντο ἐν τῇ ἱακτυλίῃ zu" (400). For these and similar instances he further quotes Wiederholt in the *Tübingen Theol. Quartelschrift* for 1869-1872.

Dr. Ball says in regard to the closing phrase in verse 62 of Susanna: "It is difficult to imagine that Greek was the original language of this closing sentence. As Greek it is intolerable as well as unintelligible; as a bold rendering from a Semitic tongue its peculiarities are intelligible enough."

The same writer has also given several instances in his introduction and also in the notes to the narrative of the Prayer and the Song of the Three Children, see *op. cit.*, p. 308, etc., showing the strongly Hebraic cast and complexion of the narrative. In regard to all the three so-called additions, he concludes, and no one has a better right to an opinion on the subject, "As to the original language of all the three additions to Daniel, it was probably in each case either Aramaic or Hebrew. The Greek text consequently is either a translation or a paraphrastic remodelling of the pieces." He urges again, that the argument for an original Hebrew (say rather Aramaic) text does not rest on merely linguistic grounds, but "may also be based upon the contents of all three additions, which, indeed, are hardly conceivable as the fictions of Alexandrian Hellenists."

The only really effective argument used by the champions of a Greek original for the so-called additions in Daniel, is that based on the presence in the Greek of two puns or *paronomasia*, as the Greeks called them. These puns were referred to as we have seen by

Ašur-natkil, *mukil apâti* of Crown Prince (c')
 Ašur-šallim (b k)
 Ašur-šallim-aḥê (t z)
 Ašur-ši (v)
 Balasu (a)
 Banî (g m), (g) *aba* (m) *šannû* of *rab âsû*
 Basûa (b)
 Barzikûtu (w)
 Bariki, *rab* (w)
 Barruḫu, *mukil apâti* (g i l m o v x g' j m')
 Bêl-aplu-iddin, *rab sa* *ri* (a f k l')
 Bêl-danan, *ša eli* (c')
 Bêl-Harrân-šar-ušur (b)
 Bêl-ili-milki, son of Bêl-nûri (k)
 Bêl-lâmur (d')
 Bêl-mušallim (n)
 Bêl-šar-ušur (v)
 Bêl-taklak (k)
 Gabbu-ilâni-êreš (z)
 Gallul, *rab kišir* (h)
 Gula-êreš, *aba* (e)
 Ginai, *tamkaru* (e)
 Danani-Nêrgal (t z)
 Dui, *aba* (k a')
 Didî, *atu*? (a d)
 Dilil-Ištar (c')
 Diti-Bêl-ṭâba (f')
 Erba-aḥê (a')
 Uarbisi, *šalšu*, (v) *šalšu dannu* (l m v x d' g')
 Uznânu (c')
 Ulûlai, *KU-KA-SAR* (c')
 Ušâni-ilu, *rakbu* (e)
 Zamama-erba, *šalšu* (c m x e' j')
 Zêr-ukîn (m n v), *rakbu*, (n) *mukil apâti*
 Zêrûti I, *mukil apâti* of Crown Prince (e l y d')
 Zêrûti II, *rab kišir* of Crown Prince (l m x)
 Zêrûti III, *atu* (e')
 Zili (t z)
 Ḫabaste, *atu*, *rab ate* (b l d m u y g' h')
 Ḫiri-aḥê, *mukil apâti* (m)

- Tâb-šâr *rab kišir* (*b*)
 Tēbētai, *sartennu* (*m j'*)
 Iada (*e*)
 Idati-Bêl-alaka, son of Ašur-šallim (*b*)
 Ikaru (*x*)
 Ilu-dîni-âmur, son of Bêl-aplu-iddin (*k*)
 Ilu-nâdin-aplu (*l*)
 Isanai (*a*)
 Išdi-Ašur, *abarakhû* (*i*)
 Išdi-Nabû, *šalšu* (*a*)
 Ištar-dûri (*i*)
 Ištar-ilai, *rab kišir*
 Ištar-nâdin-aplu, *aba* (*h j w m'*)
 Ištar-šum-êreš, *rab aba* (*n w d'*)
 Ištar-šum-iddin (*w*)
 Kakkullânu (*u*)
 Kalḫai (*b*)
 Kišir-Ašur, *ḫazânu* (*k f' g'*)
 Lâtubâšâni-Adadi (*c'*)
 Lušakin, son of Adšêki (*j*)
 Li'iti-Marduk (*u*)
 Mannu-kî-aḫi, *šanû* of Nineveh (*i*)
 Mannu-kî-Arbaili, *rabû* (*m e'*)
 Mannu-kî-Ašur, *mukil apâti* of Crown Prince (*n r*)
 Mannu-kî-Ḫarrân, *rabû tabrâte* (*h o m m'*)
 Mannu-kî-Ninûa (*x*)
 Marduk-erba (*a'*)
 Marduk-zêr-ibni, *aba* (*n*)
 Marduk-rîmâni (*j*)
 Marduk-šâkin-šum, *rab mašmaše* (*n w*)
 Marduk-šar-ušur I, son of Gabbê (*o r' y*)
 Marduk-šar-ušur II, *mukil apâti* (*n*)
 Maškaru, *šalšu* (*l y*)
 Matilai (*t z*)
 Mukinu-Ašur (*r q*)
 Mušêzib-Marduk, *šaknu* of horses (*e*)
 Mutallu (*k*)
 Milki-idri, *rab kišir* (*m*)
 Nabûa (*v*)
 Nabû-aplu-iddin (*u*)

- Nabû-ašarid (*i*)
 Nabû-bêl-ušur, *ḫazânu* (*u*)
 Nabû-eṭir I (*b*)
 Nabû-eṭir II (*b*)
 Nabû-erba, *šanû* of *rab urâte* (*c e g h m n v w d' l' m'*)
 Nabû-erba-aḫê, *aba* (*l y*)
 Nabû-zêr-iddin (*b g n e' f' g'*), *rakbu tabrâte* (*n*) *mukîl apâti*
 Nabû-nâdin-aḫê, *aba*, son of Nabû-šallimšunu of Higi-an-be (*c'*)
 Nabû-nâšir (*s*)
 Nabû-kâtâ-šâbit, *šaḫû* (*i*)
 Nabû-riḫtu-ušur (*w*)
 Nabû-rîmâni, *rab kišir* (*m*)
 Nabû-šallim (*e' f'*)
 Nabû-šar-ušur, *rab kišir*, *šanû* (*b m e' f'*)
 Nabû-šêzib, *mukîl apâti* (*l m o w y d' m'*)
 Nabû-šêzibâni (*k*)
 Nabû-šum-iddin (*e g*), (*e*) *rakbu*, (*g*) *mukîl apâti*
 Nâdinu, *aba* (*g*)
 Naḫarau (*b*)
 Nâ'id-Adadi, *rakbu tabrâte* (*g h*)
 Nêrgal-šar-ušur I, *šalšu* (*l m w x y h' i' d' g'*)
 Nêrgal-šar-ušur II (*f l m l' j*), (*f*) *mâḫu* of Tarbusê, (*l*) *rakbu šanû*,
 (*m*) *šalšu*
 Ninûai (*k c'*)
 Ninip-ilai, *šanû* of Dannai (*m*)
 Sakânu, *mukîl apâti* (*g l m o g' j' l' m'*)
 Sasî, *ḫazânu* (*a d w*)
 Sukkaî, servant of *rab-BI-LUL* (*d'*)
 Si'ḫâri, *šalšu* (*k m'*)
 Silim-Ašur, *sukallu dannu* (*m n m'*)
 Sin-abu-ušur (*k*)
 Sin-ašarid, *šalšu dannu* of Crown Prince (*g m*)
 Sî-nâtan (*k*)
 Sin-rîmâni (*c*)
 Si'rûa-ilu, *rakbu tabrâte* (*h m'*)
 Sin-šum (*x*)
 Šalmu-ḫusâni, *rakbu tabrâte* (*h m'*)
 Šalmu-šar-iḫbi (*e g*)
 Riḫime-šarri, *tamkaru* (*k*)
 Šamaš-abûa (*e*)

Šamaš-aḫu-uṣur (*e'*)Šamaš-bêl-uṣur (*b*)Šamaš-naṣiṣti-irâm (*g'*)Šamaš-šallim, *šaknu êkalli* (*e d'*)Šamaš-šar-uṣur, *mukil apāti* of Crown Prince (*b g l m o w x y d' e' f'*
g' h' l' m')Šâr-Ašur, *ša eli* (*c'*)Šarru-ibni, *rakbu* (*m*)Šarru-ilai (*d n w*)Šarru-kêniš-uṣur (*d''*)Šarru-lûdâri (*o*)Šarru-mukîn, son of Ašur-šallim (*b*)Šumma-Ašur, *bêl-paḥâti* (*w*)Šumma-ilâni, *mukil apāti* (*d g l o e' m'*)Šumma-tašêzib (*c*)Šimânu, *tamkaru* (*b*)Tarditu-Ašur, *šulšu* of Crown Prince (*n*)Turṣu-Ištar (*c'*)

Having regard to the nature of the evidence, it would be difficult to imagine a more complete proof of the essential connection of the members of Rîmâni-Adadi's group.

A little reflection will show that in making out similar name-lists for other groups of Eponyms, supposed to be closely related, it is not necessary to register names which occur only once in the group. The fact that one name occurs in a large number of the tablets belonging to the group is a presumption that they are nearly contemporary. When another name is found to be common to a large number of the same group, this presumption is greatly increased. In the above group we have Rîmâni-Adadi common to all, several names are common to five, six, or more, of the group. A careful study of the way in which the names occur will only increase the conviction that all these tablets were written about the same time.

THE TOMB OF THYĪ.

BY E. R. AYRTON.

The work of Mr. Davis and myself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes has again been crowned with success, and has resulted in the discovery of the tomb of Thyī, one of the most interesting queens of Egyptian history, the wife of Amenhetep III and mother of Akhenaten.

It is situated deep below the present level of the valley, slightly to the South of, and in the same hill as that of Rameses IX (Nefer-ka-ra).

The plan is simple; a flight of well-cut steps leads down to a corridor which opens into a large room with a small side-chamber in the South wall. This room was originally covered with white stucco but left unpainted. Fragments of a large wooden coffin lie on the floor or against the walls, whilst on one side is the royal mummy under a cartonnage (shaped to the figure) of exquisite workmanship, inlaid with various stones in gold mounts. The surface of the large coffin was originally covered with scenes of the *Aten* worship, and was made for the "Royal mother and Great royal wife Thyī" by Akhenaten. Besides a few broken boxes this is the only furniture in the tomb.

Unfortunately the whole of the woodwork and stucco is so fragile that it crumbles under the touch, and we have consequently been unable to move anything. The whole contents of the tomb are therefore being photographed before we attempt to handle or preserve them in any way.

The two halves of the door of the room were covered with gold leaf, and, like the coffin, ornamented with the scenes of *Aten* worship. Four very fine alabaster canopic jars are in the side-chamber and a few stone kohl-pots are scattered about the floor, but of other small objects the tomb is practically destitute.

The cartouches of Akhenaten have been erased on the furniture, but those of Thyī and Amenhetep III remain intact.

The outer door had been sealed by the priests of Amen, but had been broken into later and then roughly closed again. This probably took place after the decay of the *Aten* worship, and was done with the object of erasing the cartouches of Akhenaten.

It has, till now, been generally supposed that Thyī was buried at Tell el Amarna, or in the Western Valley at Thebes, and the finding of her tomb here has been a complete surprise.

BY P. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, *M.A.*

made by Steindorff from the





specify a particular god, e.g.,















“Khons spake and he lives,”

“Ptah spake and he lives,” 

¹ Although names like Mordecai, which is certainly a form of *Marduk*, appear here and there. The names Hur and Phinehas are said by Steindorff to be Egyptian. See *Enc. Bib.*, under *Names*.

Prof. Naville (*Proceedings*, XXV, p. 158), who thinks that the name of Joseph has nothing to do with any deity, but implies that he was some official of the *per ānhh* , suggests that if Steindorff's theory were correct, the name of a particular god has been omitted from fear of making an historical blunder. It may be, however, that the piety of either the original writer or the redactor could not permit the name of an Egyptian deity to be associated with a national hero such as Joseph, and the nearest equivalent which he knew for the sacred name would naturally be    *P-nete(r)*, meaning "god" indefinitely, or *par excellence*.² This would partly account for the peculiar form of the first part of the word, and explain the absence of any exact Egyptian equivalent.

² With the name of an Egyptian, however, such as Potiphar (*i.e.*,         "He whom Ra giveth," or more correctly, according to Naville,     "The peace of Ra"), no care is taken to alter the name of the Egyptian deity Ra.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, March 13th, 1907, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Dr. Pinches.—"Some Account of Cuneiform Tablets—their Production and Contents."

This Paper will be illustrated by Lantern slides.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION, 1907.

Third Meeting, March 13th, 1907.

REV. W. T. PILTER

IN THE CHAIR.

— 346 —

The following gift to the Library was announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donor :

From Sir H. H. Howorth, *K.C.I.E.*—"Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum." Vols. XVII-XX.

BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The following donation has been received :—

March, 1907 :—

W. H. Rylands, Esq. (*4th donation*) ... £2 2 0

.

E. W. Hollingworth, Esq., *M.A.*, Blackheath
 H. R. Blanchard, Esq., Cairo, Egypt,
 Mons. A. de Lange, Amsterdam,
 Miss Crosfield, Reigate,
 Mrs. Graham, Cornwall,

were elected Members of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—

DR. PINCHES : "Some Account of Cuneiform Tablets—their Production and Contents."

This Paper was illustrated by Lantern slides.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

A HITTITE CUNEIFORM TABLET FROM NORTHERN SYRIA.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*

Mr. Randolph Berens has been so fortunate as to obtain a cuneiform tablet from Aleppo, of black clay, 11 cent. long and $5\frac{1}{2}$ broad, which must have come from one of the Hittite sites in northern Syria. A few characters have been lost through a fracture, more are illegible from want of cleaning, and the characters are difficult to read as they are very small, and often present unfamiliar forms. We must therefore wait for the definitive publication of the cuneiform text, which it is Mr. Berens' intention to bring out at some future time along with that of other tablets in his collection, until the tablet can be properly cleaned. Meanwhile the great scientific importance of the document induces me, with the permission of the owner, to give here a transliteration and translation of it, lost characters being represented by lines (- - -) and characters that are illegible from want of cleaning by dots (. . .). Indeed, when the tablet is cleaned it is probable that most, if not all, of the characters against which I have put a query, will be read with certainty.

The tablet has been written by a Hittite who was acquainted with Assyrian. The leading words, such as the prepositions and verbs, are for the most part in Hittite, and have exactly the same forms as those found in the Yuzgât tablet recently published by Dr. Pinches and myself, showing that the same Hittite language was spoken from Cappadocia to northern Syria. What is most curious, however, is that we have in the language of the tablet an anticipation of Pehlevi, Assyrian words being provided with Hittite grammatical suffixes, so that it may be described as Assyrian in a Hittite setting. Apart from the language, the tablet throws an interesting light on Hittite theology and gives us the names of several new deities, Babis, Katuk, Taus, Matim (?), and Ustimîus, not to mention Sapa, who was already known to us from the name of the Hittite king Sapa-luliuma. The sacred "tree" and "grove," or "garden," and the "idol-fetish"

of the Sun-tree and the Wine-god find their counterparts in the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, as will be seen by a reference to my decipherment of them, which is thus indirectly confirmed (see *Proc. S.B.A.*, Nov., 1905, pp. 201, 207, 221, etc.).

On the geographical side also the tablet is of interest. Kaskasû (if that is the right reading) will be the Kiskissos of classical geography, the Keshkesh of the inscriptions of Rameses II, and the Kaskâ, probably, of Tiglathpileser I. In Simig we have the city from which came Šimiginis, "the god of the city of Simigi," mentioned in the letter of the Mitannian king Dusratta (*Proc. S.B.A.*, June, 1900, pp. 187-9, 224, where the god "of the warriors of Simigi" reminds us of the *zabim* "warriors" of the present text).¹ The city of Dabi, if that is the right reading, mentioned in line 30, might be the city of Ikhîb, which could also be read Idib, of which Šimiginis was the god. If Šur is correct in line 54, the country would be the Šuri or Šuwarti of the Assyrian inscriptions.


The tablet is covered with writing on all its edges as well as upon its sides. Each line begins with an upright wedge, †; they are separated by ruled lines, and the introduction is followed by two ruled lines.

OBVERSE.

- | | | | | |
|----|---|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. | nu | Amil-e-lum-û | ba-a-bi-ya | um-ma |
| | <i>To</i> | <i>Amil-e-lum</i> | <i>my father</i> | <i>thus</i> |
| 2. | Ut-ta-ti | ma-ar | † (?) ² sa | ALU Ši-mi-ig |
| | <i>Uttati</i> | <i>the son</i> | <i>of the city</i> | <i>of Šimig</i> |
| 3. | ki | AN Us-tar-rim | a-li-qa | |
| | <i>as follows : (may) the goddess of</i> | | | <i>thy city,</i> |
| 4. | AN GIS-na-zir | û | li (?) -el-um | |
| | <i>the god who protects the tree</i> | <i>and</i> | <i>the spirit (?)</i> | |
| 5. | AN NANGAR GIS-na-zir | û | AN GIR-SE | |
| | <i>the Moon-god who protects the tree</i> | <i>and</i> | <i>the god of seed-soil.</i> | |

¹ Siml is the name of a place in the Hittite portion of northern Syria mentioned by Ramses III at Medinet Habu (VI, 5), where it follows the name of Mur-nus.


² Or *qa* (?) "thy."

6. NIN-SAKH du-um-qu . . ya (?)³
Attys [grant thee] prosperity.
7. GU-ZA a-na ab-bi te ti (?)⁴ sa⁵ AN SE-ZI
A throne to the father . . . of the god of the Seed of Life,
8. ili-li-el bilat⁶ SE nu-su-US TUM SE
the idol of the mistress of seed, export seed,
9. mi-si-us-SE sa SIB ALU Kas-qa-su (?) - u (?)
misius-seed of the shepherd of the city of Kasqasû (?)
10. du-mu-ti-im UD I-KAM su-lum
the dues (?) for one day (being) an offering (?)
11.  GIS-GI-is û II BAR na-ra pa-u.
of 2½ (?) reeds and 2½ . . I have given.
-
12. - - - GIS (?) - na-zir û DHU (?)
[Before the god] who protects the tree and the father (?)
- LIE (?) a-li SE-ni
in (?) the city of our seed
13. - - - MES
[the gods ?]
14. - - - AN-Ta-us-lis-me ra-bi-a-nu-um
[Before] Taus-lisme the magistrate
15. DHU sa Mu-se-ru-AN-Ka-tuk
the father of Museru-Katug,
16. AN-US-ti-mi-i-us-GAB
Ustimîus-ipdhur
17. DHU Si-bi-it-su-ba-at-A-bi-il
the father of Sibit-subat-Abil,
18. AN Kir-ban-nam û AN Ki-nam u-li-u
the god Kirbannum and the god Kinum I made oath (?).

³ Or *ûr* (?) or *bis* (?) .⁴ Or *nu* (?) .⁵ Or possibly *ta* "thy."⁶  .

19. rab XXXII ap-pa-a
A rabbu of 32 appâ
20. si-lu-nu (?) [sa ?] ri-us-su nu
the . . . [of] his shepherd to
21. AN UD-GIS-[ŠAR]-i-šî-ri um-mi
Samas-kira-išîri my mother
22. SE AN Mar-[tu-]rab
the seed of Mur-rabu
23. DHU Ba-an-ab-bi (?) NISU GIS-MAR-GID-DA
the father of Ban-abbi (?) the charioteer,
24. ma-ti-im sa-[ra ?]-as pa-o
. I have given (?).
25. sa AN UD-tsi-[il]-za-bi-im
Of Samas-tsil-tsabim
26. DHU Mu-pa-se-ir-GIS-UD
the father of the Interpreter of (the oracle of) the Sun-tree
27. DHU Khir-ru-AN-Ri-it-ti-a-a
the father of Serru-Rittiâ

REVERSE.

28.  GIS-SE sa-ar-ra-as ina sum ab-bi
6 (?) seedlings . . . in the name of my father
29. GIS-US IV I (?)⁷-wa
4 trees . . .
30. la-li-ya ALU Da-bi-il APIN-SE
I have sent from the city of Dabis . . .
31. mu-na pa-ni IV . . -az A-GID-DA
. . before the four . . s of the lake,

⁷ Possibly *ma*.

32. SE GIS-AN sa AN Ma-mi-im
the seed of the divine tree of the goddess Mamim (?)
 û SIS-
and brother

33. su XXXI ili SE (?)⁸ ra (?) - bi SIB
his, 31 loads (?) of seed (?) the . . of the

BIT-AN sa
shepherd of the temple of

34. GIS is-ti DA ALU Dur-ba-ab-me nu
the . . tree beside the city of the fortrees-gate, for

35. a-ba-û GIS-ŠAR sa Dur-rabu-BAB-me
the keeper of the garden of the fortress-gate,

36. GIS-ŠAR ga-na-ri-iz
the garden . . .

37. GIS-ŠAR sa Lis-me-amil-um a-ba
(and) the garden of Lisme-amilum the keeper

KHARRAN-me
of the road,

38. a-ba-û GIS-ŠAR sa Dur-ki-me
(and for) the keeper of the garden of the fortress,

39. Amil-I-lum pa-te-ši
Amil-ilum the high-priest

40. AN Kha-ti-il nu-si
of the god Khati - from ; for her

41. ni - - - gan-wa EDIN te-
of . . . the field was

42. it-ta GIS-mu-na-wa-as
appointed (?) . . .

43. GIS-ŠAR sa 𐎶 Sa-ap-ib-bi-sa-ar-li-ik-bi
the garden of Sap-ibbi-sar-likbi

⁸ Or *li* (?), i.e., *ili rabi* "great loads."

44. a-pa-a amil⁹ Sa-ar-u-ki-nu-it-ki
 . . . of the man (?) Sargon-idki,
45. ili-lu GIS-UD † Za-ar-SE
 the idol of the Sun-tree the Creator of Seed,
 AN MAR-TU
 of Mur
46. a-kha-ti-wa khat-ra-at
 the sister ; she has assigned (?)
47. ili-i SE kit i-li-el AN KAS-EDIN-U
 the loads (?) of seed to the idol of the Wine-god
48. DHU Ba-bis-li-ik-bi † ba-nu-uq-qa ka-tu (?)
 the father of Babis-likbi thy begetter, for (?)
49. sa-te XXXIII ap-pa-a SE † na (?) -di (?)
 . . . (viz.) 33 ap-pa of seed, the rent (?)
50. Se-za-ni-sarru-za-bi-im
 of Setsani-sar-tsabim
51. SIB BIT AN-UD ina sum
 the shepherd of the temple of the Sun-god in the name
 ab-bi (character erased)
 of (his) father
52. SIB Sa-ap-a-na-bi-qa
 the shepherd Sap-ana-fi-qa-
53. TU PA-GUD-ga-sa ARAKH-us UD-
 -crib the oxherd monthly (and) dai-
54. us-sa AN MAR-TU-ba-an-da sarru-as¹⁰ (?) Šu (?) -ur
 -ly, Mur-banda being king of Šur (?).
55. a-na abu-ni AN UD sa Kir (?) -ya-tum
 To our father the Sun-god of Kīryatum (?)
 ga-bi ZAB-SAL
 all the people,

⁹ Or possibly *sa*.¹⁰ Or *rum*.

56. AN Ka-tuk-SIS-GIS-ŠAR

Katug-natsir-kira,

57. Na-bi-ili-su SAL AN MAR-TU-

Nabi-ili-su the woman Mur-

58. sis-a-ni ¶ Sin-su-gur

utsur-ani, Sin-sugur,




EDGE.

59. Pa-ar-ma-mi-si ¶ KAS a-na ZAB tsa-bi-a-tum ¶ a-na
(and) *Par-mamisi* ; *beer* *to* *the soldiery* ; *to*

sa-an-gi sa AN KI-TIM
the priest of the Earth-goddess

60. na-da-nim sa khat-ri-ikh SUM-M[A]
the gift of . . . I have given.

NOTES.



1. The third character is . *Ú* (-) may be the conjunction, but only one person seems to be addressed, and in lines 35, 38 it is probably a case suffix. The nominative *babis* is found in line 48.

2. The proper name *Utatis* is found in one of M. Chantre's tablets from Boghaz Keui (No. 4). For *Šimig* see Introduction.

3. *Ki* may be KI, the determinative of place (*Šimik-KI*).¹¹ We may translate "the Istar of thy city."

4. The sacred tree is called *Uana* or *Uina* in the hieroglyphic texts. *Sa* in Arzawan-Hittite is the third personal pronoun.

5. NIN-SAKH is identified with Tammuz.

6. *Ilēl*, written *ililu* and *i-li-el* in lines 45, 47, is the Hebrew , and represents the idol-fetish or symbol of the deity on a pole so often mentioned in the hieroglyphic texts. In the Egyptian version of the treaty between Rameses II and the Hittites it is called a Sutekh. TUM is the transcription of .

7. The two last characters would naturally be read *ku-gur*, but they are probably intended for *su-u*.

¹¹ Can it mean "I say"?

10. *Sulum* may be Assyrian, from *elú*.

11. The Hittite verb *pa-u* is found in a similar position in the Yuzgât tablet. From the same root we have *pai-zi* "I gave," *pâ-it* "he gives," *pa-is* "giving," *pa-izzi* "for a gift."

12. There is room at the beginning of the line for *nu* AN.

13. This line seems to have been erased.

15. The ideograph DHU denoted "parent" rather than "father" in the strict sense of the word (see W. A. I., II, 62, 21, V, 29, 67). Hence, perhaps, "progenitor" would be a better translation than "father." The choice of the ideograph may be due to the fact that the Hittites counted descent on the mother's side as well as upon that of the father. Katug will be the Katu-gha or "Kataonian" of the hieroglyphic texts.

16. Ustimius is an adjectival derivative from Ustim.

17. The name may signify "Staff of the seat of Abiel." The proper name Abiel is met with in the Yuzgât tablet.

18. Kirbannam and Kinam, "tribute" and "justice." Instead of Kinam it is possible to read Dinam "law." *Uliu* may be the Assyrian *ulli* (from *elú*) with the Hittite suffix of the first pers. singular.

19. The *rab* was a measure mentioned also in the Yuzgât tablet, where *appâ* is written *âppa*. Perhaps we are intended to translate: "1 *rab* 32 *appâ*."

20. "His" probably refers to the god named in line 12.

22. "Seed" must here be used in a metaphorical sense.

24. *O* is the transcription of \langle .

26. From the hieroglyphic texts it may be concluded that the name should be Mupaser-Uinnu.

27. The *ru* of Serru is written as a gloss underneath *Khir*. The country called Ritti is otherwise unknown.

30. *Laliya* and *lali* are found in the Arzawan tablets. There may have been a lost character between *Da* and *bi*, and it is possible that *dabi* is not the name of a particular city but the latter part of some Hittite word for "town." APIN-SE would be "ground-seed."

31. In line 42 we have the adjectival *muna-was* preceded by the determinative of "tree." Since *muna* could be read *wuna* it is possible that it is the *uana* or *uina*, the sacred tree, of the hieroglyphic texts, from which *uinnu(u)* "wine" was derived. In earlier times, however, the tree was the pine or cedar. Hence the meaning of the present passage may be: "The cones of the pine before the

four sides(?) of the (sacred) lake, the fruit of the sacred tree of the god Matim(?) and his brother." For the sacred tree of the hieroglyphic texts, see *P.S.B.A.*, Jan. 1905, pp. 22, 24.

32. The reading is *Ma-mi-im*, "the goddess Mamim." This is probably the name of the Earth-goddess.

33. The reading is probably *ili se qit ra-bi* "loads (?) of grain for the rabi."

34. The temple stood beside "the gate of the fortress," the governing word in Hittite following the governed. *Me* is a case suffix which is of frequent occurrence in the hieroglyphic texts.

35. As in line 1, it is possible that *š* is the conjunction, "for the *aba* and the garden" or "grove."



36. The suffix of the adjective *ganari-š* is difficult to understand, unless it stands for *-išzi* which appears to represent the locative case in Hittite.

39. A second *ni* may have stood after the first character; if so, the name would be Amil-ililum. If there is only one *ni*, the high-priest and the addressee of the letter will probably be the same person.

40. The god Khati is "the Hittite." "Her" must be the mother of line 21.

41. In the Yuzgât tablet *-itta* is the suffix of the passive participle, *te* appears to signify "speaking," though here the more natural meaning would be "appointing."

42, 43. "A garden of muna-trees belonging to Sap-ibbi-sar-likbi": see note on line 31. The proper name means "Sap has proclaimed: let the king speak." Sap or Sab is written Sapa and Subbi in the name of the Hittite king Subbi- (and Sapa-) luliuma; it is the Sabos of the Greeks, the Suwa or Sawa of the hieroglyphic texts.

44. At the end of this line insert  , perhaps *a-sar* "the place (of the idol). But *amil* after *a-pa-a* may be a badly formed *sa*, so "Sap-ibbi-sar-liqbi, father-in-law (?) of Sargon-idki my brother" (akh'i).

46. *Khatrat* is a third pers. sing. In the Arzawan tablets *khatra* must mean either "former" or "other," but neither sense will suit here. *Khatrikh* or *parikh* in line 60 is probably connected.

47. In the Arzawan tablets *kit* is a preposition signifying "to." The name of the Wine-god is found in the Yuzgât tablet.

48. Babis may be the phonetic equivalent of DHU; if so we should have to understand the conjunction "and" before Babis-likbi.

Otherwise "the idol of the Wine-god" will have been regarded as the ancestor of the man Babis-likbi, or else Il-el-KAS-EDIN is itself a proper name. Babis, "the Father," is here doubtless the Father-god. In later Phrygian times Attys was addressed in Bithynia and elsewhere as Papas.

50. "Cause me to go forth, O King of hosts." Cp. the Biblical "Lord of Hosts."

54. The two last characters are written underneath the line, and are so crowded together that they may be read *ma-ar* or *ma-lik* as well as *šu-ur*. I can make nothing of *mar*, but with *malik* we should have: "Mur-banda-saras being prince." However, *da* and *sarru-as*, which have been written over an erasure, may be intended for a badly formed *id-bu*; in this case we might possibly read *Mur-ban-idbu ma-lik*, "M. being king" (?). It is curious that among the Canaanite names found on one of the Taanach tablets we have "Yiwi-banda the king" and "... bandu the son of Baduna." Yiwi may be יִיְוִי.

55. The character before *ya-tum* is *zak* which has also the value of *kir*. It is just possible, however, that it should be separated into the two characters *i-zib*. The four last characters are written below the line.

57. We should note that the Babylonian god Nabu has no determinative of divinity before his name as have the native Hittite deities.

59. In the Yuzgât tablet *sangi* has become *sugi*. The Earth-goddess is the Amma of the hieroglyphic texts, the Amma and Ma of classical tradition. It was from her that all seeds, trees, and gardens sprang.

60. *Sa-pa-ri-ikh* is written as one word, and it is possible that we should read *parikh* and translate "first-fruits" (from פֶּרֶח). But it is perhaps better to connect the word with *khatrat* or *parat* in line 46.

It only remains to add that the forms of the characters are derived from those of the cursive Babylonian of the Khammu-rabi age and differ considerably from those of the Boghaz Keui (and Yuzgât) tablets, which from a palæographical point of view would belong to a later period.

THE TABLETS OF NEGADAH AND ABYDOS.

BY F. LEGGE.



(Continued from p. 73.)


No. 5.*(See Plate.)*

The tablet to which we now come was discovered by Prof. Petrie, at Abydos, probably among the débris left by M. Amélineau, although its exact provenance is not described in *Royal Tombs*. It is made of wood, which was at the time of its discovery thickly coated with resin (*R.T.*, I, p. 22), apparently for preservation, and is now in the British Museum. It differs from its four predecessors in containing for the first time a date, given according to some hitherto undeciphered system of chronology, but sufficiently marked to show that it had already become conventional. This date is shown by the three or four registers of signs appearing on the sinister or right hand side of the tablet, which are, so to speak, bracketed together by a huge example of the palm-leaf sign {, generally read as equivalent to *renpit*, or year. By comparing this with the Palermo stone, it is evident that this was the regular way in which the year was denoted, the signs within the embrace of the { being in fact the description of the events by which the year was remembered. The whole group thus formed a sort of label bearing a date in much the same way as if an inscription were now-a-days to begin with the year within an oval, as (A.D. 1907). It follows from






this that it is wrong to consider the tablet as being divided into two halves vertically (cf. *R.T.*, I, p. 40), the line which runs up at the




back of the king's canopy not being continued to the top edge of the tablet, and being evidently put there only to show that the signs to the sinister side of it were included in the brackets. The first register of this dating or "year-name" shows first the king standing between two sets of the hemispherical objects, of which a solitary example is given on **No. 2.** and which we have there seen denotes a *stadium* or racecourse. These objects are here six in number, probably signifying that the "course d'Apis" was here performed six times. The king is clothed in the brief tunic or kilt before mentioned, and wears the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, while he holds in his right hand the scourge,¹ and in the left a small baton. We should rather expect the other hand to hold the oar or paddle, as was the case in later times, but it is just possible that what I have called a baton is really a vase, which was used in the continuation of the same ceremony.² Behind this figure is another representation of the king, bearing the scourge and wearing the crown of Lower Egypt only. He is seated under a canopy supported by spear points, and on a throne set at the head of a staircase. He also wears the long tunic used at his coronation, and the figure here given is an exact reproduction of the representation of the king "Narmer" or Boethos in the Sed festival depicted on the great mace of Hieraconpolis (Quibell, *Hieraconpolis* I, Pl. xxvi B). Prof. Petrie's idea that this register represents "the king dancing before Osiris" (*R.T.*, I, p. 22) derives no support from Mr. Griffith, who in the volume last quoted (p. 40) admits that the figure on the throne and that in front of it represent the same personage.

The second register begins with a broken city cartouche surmounted by what may be a *bucranion* or pair of horns rising from a bull's skull , while below it is a sign which may be intended for the throwing-stick or so-called boomerang. Within the remaining crenellation of the cartouche are three signs partly effaced, which probably conveyed, when perfect, the name of the city. These signs seem to me to be not as given in *Royal Tombs* (I, pl. xv), but , although I can assign no meaning to them. Mr. Griffith


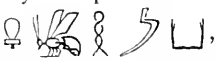



¹ M. Meret, *Revue Critique*, 1901, I, p. 43, thinks that this is the square , *hafit*, but it seems to me to be here more like the scourge, with which he admits it (see *Royaute Pharaonique*, p. 140) to be interchangeable.

² In Gayet, *Louxor* (Pl. lxxv), the king is depicted as setting out for the *Sed* festival, with the scourge in his left hand, and an exactly similar object to that shown in No. 5 on the Plate, in his right.

(*R.T.*, I, p. 41) suggests a reading of the group, taken with the horns and the *mer* sign to be next mentioned, as meaning "opening the gate of foreign lands to those that desire"; but as I am unable to trace the signs that he suggests on the tablet itself, it seems useless for me to discuss this interpretation. Behind this cartouche comes the hoe , having underneath it three strokes ||| above a clearly marked . Following this group are two groups of signs, the upper one showing the vase walking , a , and what may be a bird. The lower group shows the seated figure of a goddess with indistinguishable head-dress, and a man upright, grasping in one hand a large paddle or oar. The register is closed by the sign  above what appears to be a sedan-chair or palanquin. Little can be said with any certainty as to the meaning of this register while the obliterated signs remain in doubt, but I may point out that the city cartouche with the *mer* sign breaking into it appears on one of the carved slates given in a former paper (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1900, Pl. V), where we saw that it represented the capture of a fortified town, and that the figure with the paddle may signify its rebuilding. It is possible therefore that these two registers may be intended to read: "In the year when the *Sed* festival was celebrated at the thrice captured and rebuilt city of . . ."

The third register is much broken away, and all that is left bears the mountain sign  followed (*not* preceded) by what may be the *suten bat* formula, here written . It is quite possible that the  may indicate the word Setui, which, or something like it, we know on other grounds to have been the cartouche name of Den, but it seems to me unlikely that the *suten bat* should in that case follow instead of preceding the royal title. However, as Mr. Griffith supports this idea (*R.T.*, I, p. 41), I give it without further comment. There is a row of four birds on a stand underneath, but I am unable to suggest any meaning for them, nor do I think the other signs in this register have been sufficiently deciphered to make any explanation of them satisfactory.


The left-hand or dexter side of the tablet—that is to say, the main inscription other than the "year-name"—is much plainer sailing. Here we have first the hawk-crowned *srekh* containing the

hand and water sign , generally accepted as the name Den. Behind this comes the group , which Mr. Griffith reads (*loc. cit.*) as "the royal chancellor Hemaka," and then two enclosures signifying habitation. The upper one, the top of which is broken away, contains on the same authority the *nub* sign  and an axe(?), having below them the figure of "a man pounding, or opening the door of a trap," which Mr. Griffith suggests may mean "governor of the quarry city of Het-nub." I do not see why, in this case, the whole title should be enclosed, while that of "Royal Chancellor" is not, but I have no alternative suggestion to offer. Below this again, comes another enclosure, this time with the small square in the corner containing nothing but the plant sign . This Mr. Griffith would read as Het-suten "the enclosure of the King of Upper Egypt," which seems entirely satisfactory. Below this, again, comes the further title  *suten mabti*, which Dr. Naville has pointed out (*Rec. de Trav.*, XXV, p. 205) means the royal carpenters or axemen; and hence architects or builders. Is this to be taken in connexion with the residence sign immediately above it, and as meaning the royal builders of the Palace of Upper Egypt? It seems likely. In that case the enclosure at the top of the tablet may possibly have reference to the building of the palace in question.³

Finally we came to the formula, here much broken up and with the characters disposed in a higgledy-piggledy, which shows perhaps that it had become so conventional that no particular care was to be taken in reading it. Arranging the characters in the order most frequently used in the tablets already dealt with, it should read thus:



which we may translate as before: At the foundation the Horus gave to the temple ten thousand jars of water, two hundred measures of wood, and two (?) *hin* of strong wine.

³ It should be noted that the figure said to be "pounding" is in the same attitude as that of the king in No. 1, where I have suggested he was mixing the the clay and water for making bricks. Also that if the *suten* plant denotes Upper Egypt, as Mr. Griffith here states, the bee, , in the chancellor's title would make Hamaka chancellor of Lower Egypt only.


To sum up then, the tablet No. 5 should read:



In the year when the *Sed* festival was celebrated in the thrice captured and rebuilt city of Hemaka being chancellor of Lower Egypt, the royal residence for Upper Egypt was built by the royal architects. [Formula.] At the foundation the Horus gave to the temple ten thousand jars of water, two hundred measures of wood, and two (?) *hin* of strong wine.

There are many fragments recorded in the two volumes of *Royal Tombs* that very possibly once formed part of variants of this tablet. With these I will deal at the conclusion of the paper, but two are of sufficient importance to be treated separately. Those I will call—

No. 6.






(See Plate.)

This fragment of an excellently executed tablet in wood (?) evidently bore, like No. 5, a “year name” on the sinister side in at least two registers. The upper one contains the double staircase of the *Sed* festival with two signs before it, which without their context do not seem to make any sense. In the next register we have a complete series of signs beginning with a sign which I do not think has been met with elsewhere, and which seems to consist essentially of a post with something on the top. Following this is a bird on a standard, which is probably one of the nome-standards carried before the king at his enthronement, as seen in the great carved slate of Hieraconpolis. There then follow two signs, of which I can make nothing, followed by a clear representation of the  sign, here given, as usual on these tablets, without the top sprouts, while the register ends with the ibis of Thoth. I do not see my way to suggest any reading of this register.

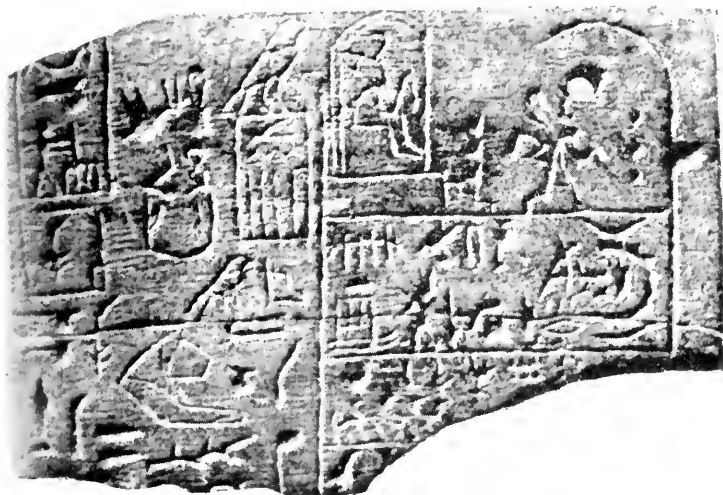
The main inscription of the tablet shows the remains of a well-executed hawk-crowned *srekh* bearing the name of Den, followed by the signs  , which we have before translated, “the royal chancellor of Lower Egypt.” It is noteworthy that, judging from the space underneath, this was followed by no personal name, as in No. 5. Was it left blank on purpose, or are we wrong in our reading of the last-named tablet?

No. 7.

(See Plate.)

This is a much-obliterated fragment of a tablet which seems to have been a variant of No. 5. The part preserved is evidently from the second register of the "year-name," and shows the broken city cartouche with the sign  above it. The pick or hoe  does not seem here to have the three vertical strokes or the  below it, as in No. 5, the  being here put behind the . I do not think the succeeding signs can be usefully identified. The main inscription seems, however, to bear unmistakable traces of the name of Hemaka, as before, between the royal *srekh* and some representation of the royal buildings.

(To be continued.)



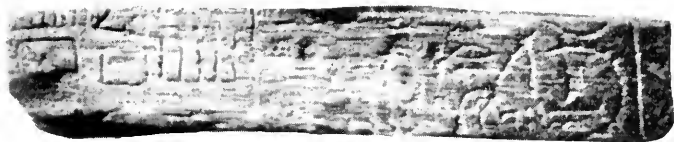
No. 5.

From *Royal Tombs*. Vol. I, Pl. xi, fig. 14.



No. 6.

From *Royal Tombs*. Vol. I, Pl. xi, fig. 5.



No. 7.

From *Royal Tombs*. Vol. I, Pl. xi, fig. 15.

THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

BY REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, *M.A.*

THIS important document, of which a translation by our President appeared in the *Proceedings* for January 10th, 1899, has since been supplemented by a duplicate published by Mr. L. W. King in his splendid book, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, as no. 102 of his texts, and by a tablet in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, published by Dr. Lindl in the *Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Vol. IV. As these scholars have given full transcriptions, translations, and comments on their texts it is needless to give such apparatus here.

The lists give the names by which the Babylonians called their years, arranged in chronological order, and as these names usually refer to the great event of each year, the lists become a sort of "Chronicle of the Kings of Babylon." Unfortunately, the texts are in a very defective condition, not more than one-third of the year-names being complete. The tablets, when perfect, did not extend below the tenth year of Ammizaduga, and thus left the last two reigns in great disorder for us. Of course, a great many year-names can be restored from comparison with other parts of the Chronicle, and many more from the dates actually used on documents. Both Mr. King and Dr. Lindl used these methods with great skill and usually they obtained the same results, which may be regarded as certain.

A large number of documents bearing dates have been published since these scholars put forth their work, and it is now possible to fill up several blanks and to correct one or two errors. It would require a treatise to give all the references and arguments for these addenda, but I shall be glad to enter into correspondence on the subject with anyone interested in it, and shall be only too pleased if any possessor of First Dynasty Tablets would send me their dates, so as to carry the process of reconstruction further. I will merely

state my results, so that others may, if they please, insert them in their copies of the Chronicle for future reference.

The reigns of Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-ilu are almost completely preserved on the date list first published, and no fresh information is to hand for them. The king Zabum reigned at least one year along with his father, they are named together on one tablet, and it is probable that the date, *šattu Zabum ana bit abišu irubu* "the year Zabum entered his father's house," refers to this year; but which year it was, the last given in the list to Sumu-la-ilu, or the first assigned to Zabum, is not yet clear. The eighth year is to be restored *MU Zabum É BABBAR MU-UN-RÛ-A* "the year Zabum built E-Babbar." That Zabum built a Šamaš temple at Sippara is recorded by Nabonidus. For *MU-UN-RÛ-A*, some tablets give *MU-UN-DÌM-MA*, with same sense. No fresh information has been published as to the reign of Apil-Sin.

The sixth year of Sin-mubalit is to be restored as *MU UŠ-SA BARA DINGIR IGI-SIG-SIG MU-UN-NA-DÌM-MA*, "the year after the shrine of Igi-sig-sig was made." This also restores the date for the fifth year. In Hammurabi's seventh year the date was *MU-BÁD-KI I-SI-IN-NA-KI*, "the year when the wall of Isin"; as yet we do not know whether it was "destroyed" or "rebuilt," but Hammurabi in the Prologue to his Code boasts of having collected together the scattered people of Isin, which speaks for a restoration. The date for the 17th year is *MU ALAM DINGIR-UNU-KI DINGIR(BAL(?))MAŠ-RÛ-KI*, "the year when the image of the god of Ur, the god Nergal(?)." The defaced sign renders it doubtful whether Nergal is meant here. The date for year 18 was *MU BARA-MAH DINGIR EN-LIL-RA MU-NA-DÌM*, "the year when the great shrine for Bél was built"; but it is not clear that the date list had this in full. The date of year 27 seems to be *MU BÁD ŠI-RA-MAH-KI MU-UN-RÛ-A*, "the year when the wall Širamaḥ was built," but the traces on the date lists suggest some variant of the last part of the date. In Samsu-iluna's reign the date for the sixth year was *MU DINGIR-UTU DINGIR-Marduk E-NE-BI-TA GAR-DÌM-DÌM-MA-BIAL IN-NA-AN-KA-KA-A-AN ALAM KA-KA-NE LAMMA GUŠKIN ÁŠ-ÁŠ-BI-TA É-BABBARA IGI-DINGIR-UTU-ŠÛ É-SAG-ILA IGI-Marduk-ŠÛ I-NI-IN-TU-RI* for which the abbreviated form *MU ALAM KA-NE* was used, and appears to have been in the date list. All the year names seem to have been long pompous sentences like the

above, abbreviated in practice. But more than one abbreviation was possible, and hence, judging from the date lists and the dates on documents, many years seem to have had more than one name. Consequently there are many dates known from documents to belong to a given reign for which no place can be found there in the date lists. Until we discover the full date, usually loyally preserved in the outlying provinces, we cannot tell to what abbreviated forms it gave rise in Babylon or Sippara. Another frequent cause of obscurity for us is the fact that the grand year name was not always announced at the beginning of the year, and people dated the year as that after the last. Thus the eighth year of Samsu-iluna was called *MU AB-KI LUGAL-GUB HAR-SAG ÌD ÁŠ-ÁŠ-BI HI-NAM HÉ-GÁL-BI TÚM-TÚM* or for short *MU AB-KI LUGAL-GUB*, while the ninth year was called *MU UŠ-SA AB-KI LUGAL-GUB*, that is "the year after the year *AB-KI LUGAL-GUB*," and also *MU UMMAN KAŠŠŪ*, "the year when the Kassite army," probably, "was defeated." The abbreviated names were often mere abbreviations and we cannot be sure what the event denoted really was until we find the full name. This secondary sort of name, *MU ÁŠ-SA*, "the year next," was often in use the whole of a year, no event having occurred worthy to give the year a special name. This might even go on again, so that we find five years running dated after the capture of Kish. In a sense this points to the importance of that capture, but even more to the exhaustion which followed the conquest, so that not even a shrine or an image was set up. The "year after" is also expressed as *MU BIL-TA EGIR*, "the new year after." These secondary forms not only tell us what the year itself was called but also what the previous year was.

The 21st year of Samsu-iluna was called *MU GU-ZA BAR-RA GU-LA*. For the 22nd year a full formula was *MU IGI-È-NIR-KI-DUR-MAḤ DINGIR-NINNI DINGIR-ZA-GÁ-GÁ BI-DA-GÈ*. The fullest form for year 23 appears to be *MU Á-KAL GIR-RA EN-LÍL-LI MU-NA-AN-SUM-MA-TA ŠÁ AḤ(?) NA URU Za-ar-ḥa-nu-um*. The full form for year 24, *MU NAM-E-MA MU-UN-SIS-RA BÁD KIŠ-KI TIG ÌD UD-KIB-NUN-KI MU-UN-RŪ-A*, shows how unsafe it would be to complete the abbreviated form *MU BÁD KIŠ-KI* by translating it "the year the wall of Kish was destroyed." The date for year 25, *MU ALAM GIŠ-KU SIG-GI* can hardly yield any sense till its

full form is discovered. For year 26, *MU HAR-SAG-GAL KÙR MAR-TU-A*, beyond its reference to the land of the Amorites, or the West, must also be obscure. Year 27 was called shortly *MU GAR BABBARA*.

The reign of Abešū' is practically absent from the date-lists, as only the first character of three consecutive year names is preserved. The usual date for a first year, *MU-Abešū' LUGAL-E*, is known, and *MU ALAM-A-NI NAM-GAR-LIB-A ALAM-A-NI PA-IB-BI* is the date of his last year (25th?). The dates *MU ÌD NI-ŠÚ-III-A-GÈ MI-NI-IN-TER-NA*, *MU BÀR-BÀRA GUSKIN-BI KU-BABBARA BI-DA-GÈ*, *MU AD-NA-TUM-MA* occur in this order, but not necessarily consecutively. So the years *MU INIM IMIM-BI ÌD-MAH Marduk-GE*, *MU SÍB KI-ÁG DINGIR EN-LÍL BI-DA-GÈ*, *MU BIL MU SÍB KI-ÁG* and *MU KA-MAH DINGIR EN-LÍL BI-DA-GÈ Á-KAL-GAL-GAL Marduk BI-DA-GÈ* occur in this order, but other years may lie between them.

The date for the 4th year of Ammiditana is *MU BIL EGIR MU NAM-GAL-LA DINGIR Marduk-GÈ*, that of the 5th *MU ALAM NAM-VUN-A-NI*. For the 23rd year, *MU ALAM-ALAM-A-NI Û DINGIR LAMMA È BABBAR-RA-KU IN-NA-RÚ-A* for the 27th *MU DINGIR-IB UR-SAG-GAL-LA-ÁŠ*; for the 28th, *MU ALAM-A-NI MÀS-DA-RI-A*; for the 31st *MU DINGIR NIN-IB AM-SAG ID-DAH-A-NI-KU GIŠ-GU-ZA-MAH È NAM-TIL-LA-NI-KU I-NI-IN-TU-RA*; for the 33rd, *MU BIL EGIR BÀD Iškun-Marduk-GÈ*; for the 34th, *MU ALAM NAM-UR-SAG-GÈ Sa-am-su-i-lu-na NI-NE-EN-NA È NAM-TI-LA-NI-KU Û ALAM-NAM-EN-NA-NI È-ME-TE UR-SAG-GÈ IN-NE-EN-TU-RA*, for short, *MU ALAM Samsu-iluna*; for the 36th, *MU BIL EGIR Dûr-Ammiditana TIG nâr ME-Bûl*, the Dûr-Ammi of the date list is an abbreviation for Dûr-Ammiditana as its *Is-ku* in year 33 is an abbreviation for Iškun-Marduk. For the last year the full form is *MU BÀD-BÀD-KI Dam-ki-ili-šú NE-IN-RÚ-A IN-GUL-LA*.

The reign of Ammisaduga is only represented on the date lists by the traces of two year names, *MU SÍB-ZI ŠE-GA DINGIR-UTU DINGIR-Marduk BI-DA-GÈ*, and *MU KAR(?)RA KALAM-MA-NA NE-IN-GAB-A*, which came before the tenth year. The style *MU Ammisaduga LUGAL-E* was used for the 1st year, and *MU BIL EGIR Ammisaduga LUGAL-E* for the

second year, but longer forms may also have been in use. Two years in succession bore the names *MU GIŠ-KU TIM-NA DINGIR-Sin BI-DA-A-ÁŠ* and *MU BIL EGIR GIŠ-KU TIM-NA DINGIR-Sin BI-DA-A-ÁŠ*, but while at least thirty other year names are known, no attempt has yet been made to place them in chronological order.

For the reign of Samsuditana few tablets have yet been published, and though over twenty year names are known, much more must be available before their order can be settled. It is, however, as the above partly shows, possible to complete about half the lost or doubtful parts of the published dates, and a few more indications would settle many more. It usually happens that each fresh date fixed, fixes others as well.

ST. MENAS OF ALEXANDRIA.

BY MARGARET A. MURRAY.

(Continued from page 60.)

St. Menas is now known chiefly by little pottery flasks bearing his effigy and his name. The flasks were intended to contain holy oil from his shrine, which was used for anointing the sick, and was taken by pilgrims from the holy places to their own homes. They are generally inscribed **ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ** "the gift, or blessing, of the holy Menas"; this appears in all kinds of variants, from the most contracted form **ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ** to the most elaborate, **ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΛΑΒΟΜΕ[Ν] ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ**. According to Schultze,¹ the word Eulogia is explained thus: "**ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ**, originally the blessing of the Communion, then the blessed Elements themselves, became later the designation for holy blessed gifts in general, in this case for the holy oil from the martyr's grave." The holy oil, indispensable for the anointing of the sick and for the performance of miraculous cures, was obtained only at the shrines of martyrs, and was supposed to exude miraculously from the bones of the saints, from their tombs or from their images; or it acquired its virtue by being placed in contact with the holy relics or even with the tomb, or by being burned in lamps before the sacred shrine. Gifted with miraculous powers of healing, the holy oil was eagerly sought after by pilgrims, who carried it from the shrines which they visited to their homes. The flasks are made in a form convenient for slinging on the person; they are flat, with a comparatively long neck and two handles. I know of two only, which have but one handle; one published by Le Blant,² the other in the Ashmolean

¹ SCHULTZE, *Arch. der Altchristl. Kunst*, p. 301.² LE BLANT, *Rev. Arch.*, XXXV, p. 303.

Museum at Oxford (Pl. I, fig. 1). These flasks with one handle are, as Le Blant pointed out, for the actual anointing of the sick; the usual type with two handles is for carrying the oil from one place to another. The metal flask of St. Scholastica,³ preserved at Juvigny les Dames, is of precisely the same shape as the Menas-flasks, and still retains the leather bands or cords by which it was carried.

The flasks found at Monza⁴ are chiefly of glass, a few being of lead, and of the latter one is inscribed **ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ**,¹ showing very clearly that they were intended to contain oil from sacred places. Gregory of Tours also says that oil in little flasks placed near the tombs of martyrs receives a miraculous grace from heaven.

The Menas-flasks date from the fifth to the seventh century; the persecutions which the Christians endured after the Mohammedan Conquest effectually stopped pilgrimages to Egypt, and though the church of St. Menas retained its sanctity for two centuries afterwards, the fame of its patron saint was gradually restricted and then forgotten; until now "the blessed and glorious martyr" is scarcely known outside Egypt and some other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, where his festival is still celebrated to a small extent by services and processions.

These flasks are generally about four to six inches long, are coarsely made, and are chiefly of a drab-coloured pottery, a very few being of a reddish colour. The flat sides are cast in a mould of which the designs vary only in degrees of rudeness. On one flask now in my possession (Pl. I, fig. 2) the mould has been impressed twice leaving one faint, and one clear, impression of the head and causing confusion in the lines of the border. The neck and handles were made separately and joined to the body while the clay was still wet, and the soft clay being moulded with the hands and pressed down on the body of the flask, the marks of the potter's fingers are often visible where the ends of the handle are smoothed to fit the curve of the flask. The workmanship is grossly careless, the joint between the neck and the body, or between the handles and the body, often interferes with the design (Pl. I, figs. 3, 4, 5). The flasks were glazed when finished; one in the collection of M. de L'hôtellerie, now in the Louvre, had remains of red, yellow, and blue glaze upon

³ *Rev. bénédictine*, 1898, p. 124.

⁴ REUSENS, *Eléments d'arch. chrét.*, I, pp. 243-4.

it when first bought⁵ and the flask which Mr. Towry Whyte has kindly allowed me to publish (Pl. I, fig. 3) also has traces of blue on one side of it.

De Rossi⁶ considers that the flasks with the most careful inscriptions are the oldest, and that those without inscriptions are the latest. Though this dating agrees also with the style of the flasks, those with long inscriptions being of more elaborate workmanship than the uninscribed flasks with their rudely modelled figures, yet it is impossible to fix any definite sequence to them, until accurate excavations shall give us proofs.

The representation of St. Menas never varies on these flasks. He stands with upraised arms in the attitude of prayer, while two camels—one on each side—bow their heads to his feet. He is young and beardless, dressed in the costume of a Roman soldier, with a large cloak fastened sometimes on the right shoulder, sometimes at the neck and hanging down the back, leaving the shoulders free. Sometimes, though not always, he has a nimbus. The vacant space on each side of the head is filled with one or more crosses, generally of the square Maltese form, or made of five dots, but occasionally the inscription **Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΑΣ** is to be found (Pl. I, figs. 5, 6), showing without doubt whose figure is represented. In many of the more rudely moulded flasks there is no inscription whatever, the figure of the saint being repeated on each side.


We now come to the variants from the usual type. Taking the representation of St. Menas to be the obverse, we find various devices and designs on the reverse. A rather rare design is on the reverse of No. 3, Pl. I: there is another example in the British Museum. A bird like an eagle hovers over a vine of which the bunches of fruit and the tendrils fill the vacant spaces. In Coptic art, the dove is often indistinguishable from an eagle, therefore this design may represent the Holy Spirit protecting the Church. A cross or a star enclosed in dot-and-line borders of every variation are perhaps the commonest designs, and call to mind the devices on the Communion bread used in Coptic churches at the present day. Next in order of frequency is the negro's head, with a collar of large beads, and surrounded usually with a dot border (Pl. I, figs. 2, 7). The other designs are comparatively rare and include a ship, two types (Pl. II,

⁵ MICHON, *Collection des ampoules du Louvre*. *Mélanges*, G. B. de Rossi.

⁶ DE ROSSI, *Bull. di arch. cristiana*, 1872, p. 30.

figs. 2, 3), a stag, a bird, two types (Pl. II, figs. 4, 5), a woman's head (Pl. II, fig. 6), a vase with flowers, a tree (Pl. II, fig. 7), a curious and unexplained object (Pl. II, fig. 8), St. Thecla (Pl. III, fig. 1), and a riding saint (Pl. III, fig. 2).⁵

The riding figure is a very curious type, referring, as M. MICHON suggests, to some now forgotten incident in the life of the saint. In the example in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, the name on the reverse is misspelt, an **N** being substituted for an **M**, **ΤΟΥ ΔΓΙΟΥ ΝΗΝΑ** instead of **ΤΟΥ ΔΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ** (Pl. III, fig. 2).

M. MICHON⁷ suggests that flasks having two distinct *motifs* were intended to contain oil from two shrines, and had on them the insignia of both. His theory receives confirmation in two instances, of which he quotes only one, the flasks which bears on the reverse the monogram  This, he says, is Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, and the last of the martyrs, whose sepulchre was the place of pilgrimage which is mentioned by Epiphanius not only as among the sacred places which he visited, but also as being in the same region as the tomb of St. Menas. The other instance, that of the tree, is equally striking. At Anzar wa-A'jab, three days' journey from Marea, was "the church of the Pure Lady and Virgin Mary. The biographies [of the patriarchs] relate that at the door of this church there stands an olive-tree, which has no green leaves upon it; but that on the day of the festival of that church at sunrise, this tree becomes green while all the people are looking at it, and its branches spread, and its leaves unfold, and fruit appears upon it; and the fruit deepens in colour and grows and multiplies until the middle of the day, when the tree is covered with olives. Then the priest in charge of the church comes out, and takes some of the olives, which he presses, and with the oil of which he lights the lamps. And the people who are assembled pray, and receive the communion, and disperse to their own homes. Afterwards the priest in charge of the church collects that which is left of the olives, and has them pressed; and they supply the church with sufficient oil for lighting the lamps during the whole year."⁸

The figure of St. Thekla occurs only on flasks of a large size. There is no doubt as to the identity of the figure, for the flask in the

⁷ MICHON, *Bull. de la soc. nat. des Antiquaires de France*, 1897, p. 301.

⁸ *Abu Salih*, fol. 107, b.

Hoffmann Collection⁹ gives the name **Η ΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΚ**, followed by a sign of abbreviation. Here she is represented between two lions, perhaps in allusion to the lioness which defended her at the expense of its own life from the other wild beasts in the Arena at Antioch. She is always represented as nearly nude, drawing a garment about her, in agreement with the account given in her "Acts,"¹⁰ "they stripped off her garments and put on her a linen loin-cloth." On the flask in the British Museum (No. 16) a bull and another animal, perhaps a dog, stand on each side of her. The bulls figured in her martyrdom in a very dramatic incident: "And they led Thekla and put her between the brutes and took and threw her on her face, and tied her feet tight between the two bulls. And they brought spits and heated them by placing them in the live fire, and when they were kindled they applied them to the sensitive parts of the bulls, to infuriate them, that in their fury they might destroy her; and the bulls were maddened with the pain of the brands. But the flame of the fire caught the bonds with which the feet of Thekla were bound; and Thekla leapt up in front of the bulls, as if no harm had happened to her, and as if she had not been bound at all by the feet."⁹ The dogs or wolves are perhaps intended to represent the numerous wild beasts which were let loose against her in the arena, but they refused to attack her, and merely "sat round her, before and behind, and dozed, and not one of them did harm to Thekla."¹¹

The emblems on the other flasks are not easy to explain. One would suppose that the ship was the type of the Christian Church, and the bird the representation of the Holy Ghost; but we have seen that both the tree and St. Thekla are illustrations of other legends, therefore it is quite possible that all these emblems have a literal, and not a mystic, meaning. There are two forms of the ship, and in one (Pl. II, fig. 2) four fish are always represented. The woman's head (Pl. II, fig. 6) is undoubtedly that of a saint, the difficulty is to identify the saint, in the absence of any special mark. There are many female saints who lived or were martyred in Egypt, the most celebrated being Thekla (not the apostolic), Theodora, and perhaps Catherine, as M. MICHON suggests.

Of other objects bearing the representation or name of St. Menas,

⁹ LEGRAIN, *Coll. Hoffmann*, III, 47, No. 553.

¹⁰ CONYBEARE, *Acts of Paul and Thekla*. *Monuments of Early Christianity*.

¹¹ CONYBEARE, *Acts of Paul and Thekla*. *Monuments of Early Christianity*.

the principal is the ivory pyxis in the British Museum.¹² It is probably of the sixth century, and is made from the section of an elephant tusk. The carving shows two scenes; one represents St. Menas with the nimbus standing with arms upraised in the attitude of prayer, between the two camels. He stands in the entrance to his sanctuary which is represented by two pillars, apparently of wood, supporting a semi-circular arch; worshippers are approaching, men on his left, women on his right. Behind the women is the house in which the saint was born. The other scene gives the martyrdom of the saint; he kneels before the Emperor his hands tied behind him, while the executioner with upraised sword is about to strike off his head, and an angel with veiled hands descends from heaven to receive the martyr's soul. The Roman governor, who has an attendant beside him and a soldier behind him, is seated on a cushioned chair, his feet on a footstool; he is robed in the tunic and pallium, with a fillet round the head, and holds a sceptre in his right hand. On his left is a table covered with a cloth, on which, according to Garucci, incense is to be offered. Behind the table is the attendant who appears to invite St. Menas to save his life by offering the incense, "but the martyr kneeling extends his neck to the executioner; the guard, astonished at the constancy and fortitude of the martyr, raises his hand with a gesture of surprise." The guard is in armour with helmet, spear and shield. In the background is a building said by Garucci to be the Praetorium. This pyxis is interesting also as being one of the first examples of an ivory reliquary decorated with scenes from the life of a saint.¹³

The ivory tablet at Milan¹⁴ (*see* Pl. III, page 30) is probably a panel of a casket or reliquary. It is Byzantine in style, and the date is the ninth to tenth century. St. Menas, young and beardless, stands in the attitude of prayer; on each side kneels a camel with the head raised. The saint has a nimbus and is robed in the costume of a Byzantine noble with a long tunic falling below the knees, and fastened at the waist with a girdle, of which the loose end hangs down in front. The tunic is elaborately decorated with a wide embroidered border, embroidered bands like a short stole fall over the shoulders, and

¹² GARUCCI, *Archæologia*, XLIV, p. 324. *Stor. della arte crist.* VI, p. 61, Pl. 439. British Museum, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities*, Pl. IX.

¹³ MASKELL, *Catalogue of fictile ivories at South Kensington*, 1872, Pl. LV.

¹⁴ GARUCCI, *Archæologia*, XLIV, p. 327. MICHON, *Bull. de la soc. nat. des Antiquaires de France*, 1897, p. 298. GRAEVEN, *Elfenbeinwerk*, 47.

two circles of embroidery are on the skirt of the tunic just above the knees; the sleeves are tight and wrinkled. He wears either long hose or long boots. Over the tunic is a large cloak coming down to the ankles, and fastened on the front of the right shoulder so as to leave the right arm free, while heavy folds fall over the left arm. The saint stands in front of his church, perhaps in the portico. Behind his head is a semi-circular shell-like ornament which probably has no meaning, though it is just possible that it may represent the dome which, as Quatremère says, surmounted the church. But on each side of the figure is a structure which may well be the façade of the church. These two buildings are exactly alike, and represent a penthouse roof on the top of which is a cross. Below the roof is a beam or lintel, with mouldings, supported by wooden pillars; the capitals of these columns are of the poorest design. About half-way down is a balustrade of lattice work, probably of wood in the original church. The rectangular space between the pillars and above the balustrade is evidently a window; curtains hang on either side and are drawn back, and between the curtains hangs a lamp. In the spandrels on each side of the pointed roof is an architectural design of a palmetto. On the edge of the tablet is the name of the saint

✠ (A) MHNAC.

In the Alexandria Museum¹⁵ there is a white marble tablet representing St. Menas between the camels, in the conventional attitudes. This was found not far from Mex and to the west.

In the Christian cemetery of Marusinac¹⁶ a slab of marble was found with the words ✠ O AΓΙOC MHNAC ✠. This may have been the cover of a coffer for relics, or the base of a statue. An interesting point about this slab is that it was broken into two pieces; the portion with the words O AΓΙOC was found first, but it was not until the year following that the other piece was excavated, and the true meaning of the inscription was then understood.

There is also a distaff¹⁷ engraved with the words: "Receive the benediction of the blessed Menas, fair woman." It was probably one of the objects sold to pilgrims at the shrine of the Saint.


At Kherbet-el-ma-el-abiaq,¹⁸ in Algeria, there was found a rect-

¹⁵ BLOMFIELD and DUTHIL, *Bull. de la soc. arch. d'Alexandrie* I, p. 38.

¹⁶ *Bull. di arch. e storia Dalmata*, 1899, p. 80.

¹⁷ *Berlin Ausführl. Verzeichn.*, 1899, p. 399.

¹⁸ MICHON, *Bull. de la soc. nat. des Antiquaires de France*, 1897, p. 299. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Rec. d'arch. orient.* II, p. 180.

angular block of marble with an inscription: "In hoc loco sunt memorie sanc: martirum (2 *palm branches*) Laurenti: Ippoliti (*palm*) Eufimie (*palm*) Minne et de cruce Dni deposite die iii nonas Febrarias  anp ccccxv." The memorial of St. Menas was probably one or more of the flasks of holy water from his shrine.

One jar-sealing (Pl. III, fig. 3) with a representation of St. Menas between the camels has been preserved, and is now in the British Museum. It is of white stucco, with a very rough and indistinct impression of the seal; the edges are a good deal broken, and the back shows the remains of the straw on which the sealing-clay or stucco was laid. Though very rude in workmanship, it is interesting as being, I believe, the only seal of this design known. It was found in Egypt, but unfortunately the exact provenance is unknown.

The small leaden medallion (Pl. III, fig. 4) has on the obverse the conventional figure of St. Menas between camels; on the reverse is a warrior saint, perhaps St. Victor or St. Theodore. It was evidently intended to be suspended on the person; the ring is formed by a strip of metal bent to the required shape. It was brought from Egypt and is now in the British Museum.

A comb¹⁹ is known, on one side of which is a male orans in front of a building and between two lions; on the other side is a female orans, also in front of a building and between two lions. KRAUS sees in these two figures Daniel and Susanna; but Mr. CRUM thinks the woman is Thekla, and M. STRZYGOWSKI suggests that the man is St. Menas. If M. STRZYGOWSKI is right, then the small dark-blue glass medallion (Pl. III, fig. 5), now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, also represents our saint, though the very indistinct animals bear more resemblance to lions than to camels.

That the cult of St. Menas was still active in the sixteenth century is shown by the fact that Paul Veronese painted a picture of the great Egyptian saint on the doors of the organ in the church of San Geminiano in Venice. This picture was engraved by Zucchi and is now in the Pinacoteca at Modena. The doors were painted on both sides; on one side are the two bishops St. Geminiano and St. Severus, on the other St. John the Baptist and St. Menas. He is represented as a fine and stately figure standing in a niche; the early tradition of the youthfulness of the saint has disappeared, this is a bearded

¹⁹ F. X. KRAUS, *Geschichte der christl. Kunst*, I, 522. STRZYGOWSKI, *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XII, p. 35. CRUM, *Eg. Expl. Fund Arch. Report*, 1898, p. 68.

man in the prime of life. He is clad in armour, but with the head and right arm bare; a cloak is wrapped round him. In his left hand he holds a sword, and a battle-axe or halberd, which reaches above his head, is held in the hollow of his left arm.

On the other side of the Adriatic the cult of St. Menas continued into the eighteenth century, for in 1703 a silver reliquary of this saint²⁰ was still in existence at Spalato.

There is a very curious representation of St. Menas mentioned by Vansleb, a representation which was considered miraculous by the spectators. It was evidently caused by an effect of light such as is obtained in a camera obscura, and which Vansleb appears to have understood thoroughly.

"In the church of Gemiane (in the month of May) is the Festival of the Apparition of the Saints. One Chappel, whited with Lime, namely that where the supposed Apparition happens, is on the North side. I found it (the Apparition) to be nothing else but the reflection of the Objects that went by the Church at a convenient distance, which are carried into the Chappel by the Air, through the two Windows that give light." A confused reflection of the object seems to have been thrown on the wall, "and the people when they see the Shadow that represents a Cavalier they say that it is St. George. When they see a Woman carrying of an Infant in her Arms, they say that it is the blessed Virgin. When they see the Shadow of a man on foot of a reddish colour, they say that it is St. Menna, because they paint him with a red Habit. Of all the saints that their Church worships I have heard none called upon" (at this festival) "but the blessed Virgin, St. George, St. Menna, and St. Pokter" [Victor].

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

1. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: St. Menas between camels. One handle. *Ashmolean Museum.*
2. *Obv.*: Negro's head. *Rev.*: **ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ.** *Author's Collection.*

²⁰ Bunić, *Bull. di arch. e storia Dalmata*, XXIII, 124.

3. *Obv.*: St. Menas between camels, **ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΑΣ**.
Rev.: bird and vine. Traces of coloured glaze.
Mr. E. Towner Whyte's Collection.
4. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: Designs of crosses. *British Museum.*
5. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: St. Menas between camels, **ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΑΣ**
at the sides of the head; **ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΛΑΒΟΜΕΝ ΤΟΥ**
ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ as a border. *British Museum.*
6. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: St. Menas between camels within palm-branch
border, **ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΑΣ** beside the head.
British Museum.
7. *Obv.*: Negro's head within dot-and-line border. *Rev.*: **ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ**
ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ. *Prof. Petrie's Collection.*

PLATE II.

1. *Obv.*: Negro's head within palm branch border. *Rev.*: Cross
within palm-branch border. *British Museum.*
2. Ship and four fish. *Ashmolean Museum.*
3. Ship with high prow. *British Museum.*
4. Bird. *British Museum.*
5. Bird within border. *British Museum.*
6. Female head within dot-and-line border. *British Museum.*
7. *Obv.*: Tree. *Rev.*: **ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ**.
British Museum.
8. Vase, cross and amphora (?). *British Museum.*

PLATE III.

1. *Obv.*: St. Menas between camels within palm-branch border.
Rev.: St. Thekla between bulls and dogs. *British Museum.*
2. *Obv.*: St. Menas riding. *Rev.*: **ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΗΝΑ** within dot-
and-line border. *Ashmolean Museum.*
3. Jar-sealing, St. Menas between camels. *British Museum.*
4. Lead medallion. *Obv.*: St. Menas between camels.
Rev.: Warrior saint with shield and spear. *British Museum.*
5. Glass medallion. Saint between two lions (?).
Ashmolean Museum.

PLATE IV.

1. *Obv.*: Cross within palm-branch and trefoil border. *Rev.*: **ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ** upside down. *British Museum.*
2. *Obv.*: **ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣ** + *Rev.*: **ΤΟΥ ΑΥΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ**, reversed. *British Museum.*
3. *Obv.*: St Menas between camels. *Rev.*: Cross enclosed by **ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ** within palm-branch border. *British Museum.*
4. *Obv.*: Cross with trefoils, within border of dots and wavy line. *Rev.*: **ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ**, upside down. *British Museum.*
5. *Obv.*: St. Menas between camels, with **ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΠ** in border. *Rev.*: Cross within dot border surrounded by **ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΑΣ**. *British Museum.*
6. **ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ** and palm-branch within twisted-rope border. *British Museum.*

PLATE V.

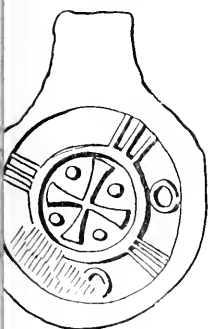
1. St. Menas between camels, within dot-and-line border. *British Museum.*
2. St. Menas between camels, within dot-and-line border. *British Museum.*
3. Cross within dot-and-line border. *British Museum.*
4. Six-pointed star surrounded by leaves and fruit within dot-and-line border. *British Museum.*
5. Cross within dot-and-line borders, surrounded by rays. *British Museum.*
6. Seven small circles, cross in centre circle. *Ashmolean Museum.*
7. Spiral. *British Museum.*



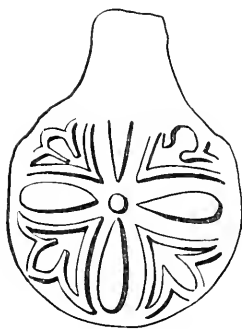
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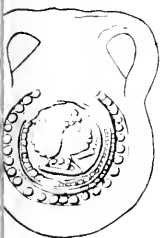
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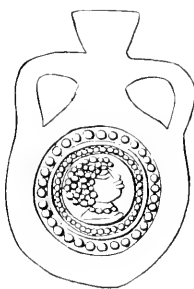
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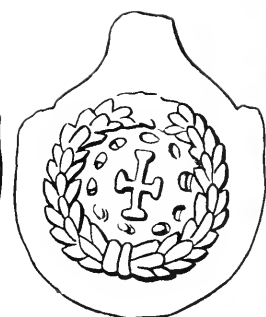


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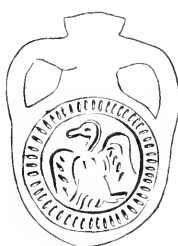
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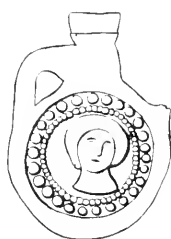
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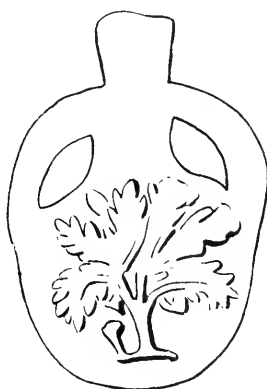
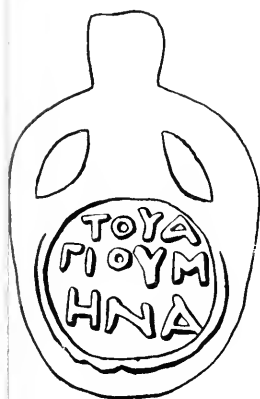
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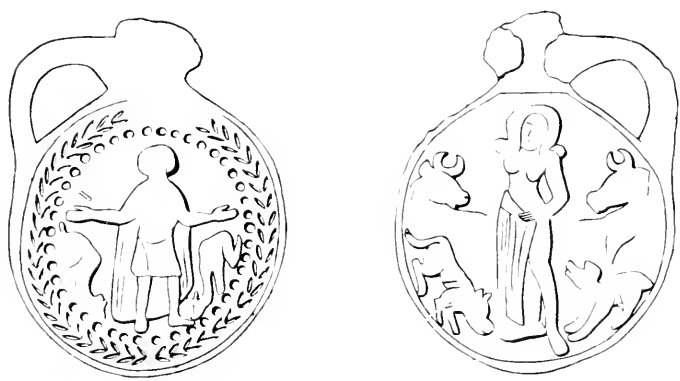
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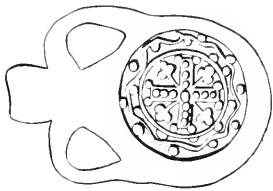
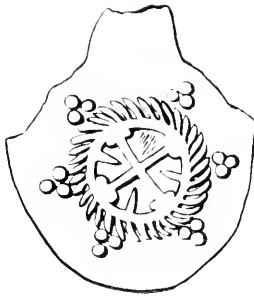
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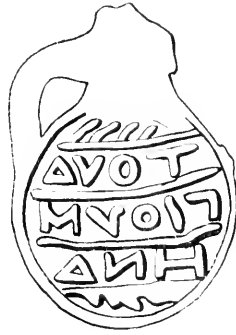
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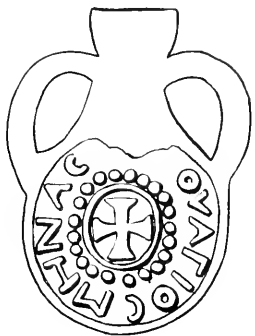
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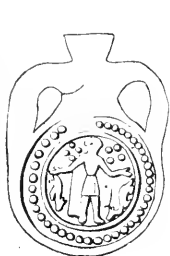
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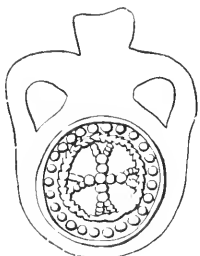
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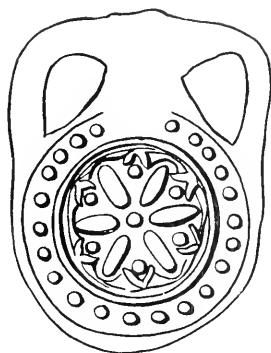
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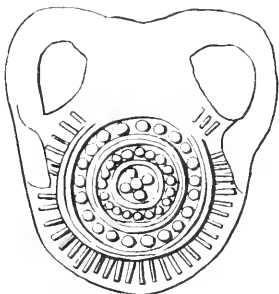
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THE HIMYARITIC SCRIPT DERIVED FROM THE GREEK.

BY E. J. PILCHER.

St. Matthew tells us of the Wise Men who came from the East, bringing gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The two latter commodities do not now excite much interest, nor do they convey to our minds any idea of value; for we no longer delight in incense and perfumes as the ancients did, and sweet odours have ceased to be associated with wealth and luxury. But for many centuries aromatic spices and gums were imported into the Mediterranean countries at vast expense, the chief source of supply being Southern Arabia. Herodotus, who may be considered our earliest classical geographer, knew that frankincense and myrrh came from Arabia; and he credited the same land with the production of cinnamon and other spices which we now know were really drawn from the islands of the East Indies, though they passed into Egypt through Arabian hands. Moreover, he professes to give on the authority of the Arabians, details of the manner in which these spices and perfumes were collected. This leads us to inquire whether we can give any guess at the period of time when the people of Southern Arabia were first able to meet Greeks face to face and convey to them these strange stories of commercial adventure.

It need hardly be said that the natural channel of communication with Southern Arabia would be by the Gulf of Suez and the Red Sea; and that this route was under the control of the Egyptians in the time of Herodotus (484-406 B.C.), and had been for many centuries before. We cannot suppose, therefore, that Greeks would be able to penetrate to the Gulf of Suez until such time as they were received in Egypt as settlers, travellers, and traders.

Fortunately, Herodotus gives us an account of the first admission of Greeks into Egypt, which seems quite in agreement with what we can learn from other sources. Early in the seventh century B.C.

Egypt was invaded by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, who held it for some years. The country was divided into twenty provinces under a number of petty chieftains: but about 654 B.C. one of these chieftains, named Psammetichus I, succeeded in throwing off the Assyrian yoke and getting himself recognised as the king of all Egypt. According to Herodotus, this monarch owed his victories largely to the employment of Ionian and Carian mercenaries, clad in brazen armour (ii, 152), and he afterwards settled a garrison of these Greek soldiers at Daphnæ, on the Bubastic branch of the Nile, *about sixty miles from Suez* (ii, 30, 154), where they remained many years, and where their relics were discovered by Dr. Petrie in 1887.¹

Necho II, the successor of Psammetichus, paid great attention to the navigation of the Red Sea. He established docks and shipyards there; and he despatched an expedition, which sailed southwards, and, by continually hugging the coast, finally circumnavigated Africa, and returned to Egypt by the Mediterranean (Herod. ii, 158-159, iv, 42).

Herodotus is careful to inform us (ii, 154) that from the time of the military settlement under Psammetichus I the Greeks were in constant communication with Egypt, and accurately informed of the condition of the country. It is therefore perfectly clear that, from about 660 B.C., Greeks had every opportunity of visiting the Red Sea, and making the acquaintance of its inhabitants.

The people of Southern Arabia were known to the ancients under the name of Sabæans; and we have occasional notices in classical authors of the wealth and splendour of this nation. As in many other cases, however, the wealth and splendour waned: and, when we come to the dawn of Arabic literature proper, we no longer read of the Sabæans. They had been supplanted by a new tribe, the Himyarites, who dominated both the southern shores of the Red Sea, until their power was broken by the Persians on the one side, and the Abyssinians on the other, shortly before the time of Muhammad. The Muslim writers inform us that these Himyarites made use of a confused kind of writing, which was looked upon with some suspicion, and only allowed to be taught and used by special license. This

¹ "Nebeshch (Am) and Defennch (Tahpanhes)," by W. M. Flinders Petrie. *Fourth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*. London, 1888. Unfortunately only one inscription was found there (Pl. XXIV). It consists of three letters retrograde **𐤀𐤓𐤁**.

Himyaritic writing was contemptuously styled *Musnad* or "spurious," because it was the script of the heathen; and, after the rise of Islam, it was rapidly superseded by the more orthodox Cufic. In fact, it was so completely blotted out that it was not until 1834 that the first observed Himyaritic inscription was seen and copied by Europeans. In that year Lieutenant J. R. Wellsted discovered at Hisn Ghorab a long text, which was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1843 Louis Arnaud handed a number of transcriptions to the French Consul at Jidda. In 1869 Joseph Halévy made an adventurous journey through Arabia Felix, and copied many Himyaritic texts. He was followed by Dr. Julius Euting in 1883; but the greatest amount of work in this direction was done by Dr. E. Glaser in 1884 and 1889; for he was enabled to travel under Turkish protection, and copied some hundreds of inscriptions, many of which he has not yet had time to edit and publish. Altogether, therefore, we are in possession of a large amount of epigraphic material, destined to throw much light upon pre-Islamic Arabia during the period which is dismissed by Muhammadan writers as "the time of ignorance."

The general appearance of the Himyaritic writing is now fairly well known. The characters are upright, and somewhat square in outline, giving them the aspect of Roman capitals. They form an alphabet of twenty-nine letters, specially adapted to the sounds of the Arabic language. It was soon found that the Himyaritic had not been suppressed without leaving a descendant; and the rediscovery of the new script at once solved a very vexed problem, namely the origin of the peculiar alphabet employed in Abyssinia under the name of the Ethiopic.

The Ethiopic alphabet had long been known to scholars. It consists of twenty-six letters, many of them totally unlike the forms found in any other description of writing. The letters have names with a remote resemblance to the names of the characters in Hebrew; but the order of the alphabet is quite peculiar. Furthermore, although the letters themselves stand for consonants, each one can have a series of vowels attached to it, and thus the alphabet is really a syllabary.

These peculiarities had puzzled many, until the Himyaritic inscriptions were brought to light, and revealed the originals of the strange forms of the Ethiopic characters. Since then Sabæan monuments have been found in Abyssinia itself, and it has been clearly

demonstrated by Dr. D. H. Müller, of Vienna,² that the Sabæan or Himyaritic form of writing was employed on Abyssinian soil from the earliest known period; and that about the end of the fourth century of the Christian era this Himyaritic writing was modified by an educated Greek residing at the court of the Ethiopian king at Axum, and developed into the present Ethiopic alphabet or syllabary; the Ethiopic inscriptions of the fourth century being identical in character with the modern MSS. from which the alphabet is chiefly known.

This Ethiopic alphabet is shown in col. 1, Plate I, together with the names of the letters.³ These names are not likely to have been invented by the Byzantine scholar, and therefore we must accept them as having pre-existed in the Himyaritic. The order of the characters must also be native, because in every other case where Grecian scholars influenced a foreign script we find the Greek order of the alphabet has been the model:⁴ but, on the other hand, the juxtaposition of many letters appears to be due to their superficial resemblance in their *Ethiopic* form, whereas they are not alike in the Himyaritic (compare Nos. 18 and 19; 13 and 14).

In col. 2 we have the Himyaritic alphabet⁵ consisting of twenty-nine letters; and, as the Ethiopic was undoubtedly derived from this script, it remains for us to determine the origin of the Himyaritic.

There is obviously a direct or indirect connection with the Phœnician alphabet. The names of the letters, as preserved in the Ethiopic, have a sufficient resemblance to the Hebrew names. Then **Ⲁ Ⲭ ⲭ Ⲯ ⲱ ⲿ** are almost identical in form with the corresponding



² *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, by J. Theodore Bent (London, 1893), p. 231, ff.

³ With the following exceptions, these names have no known meaning in Ethiopic:—

<i>Ḥūt</i>	=	fence.
<i>Mūi</i>	=	water.
<i>Re'es</i>	=	head.
<i>Ḥarm</i>	=	hedge.
<i>Nahās</i>	=	snake.
<i>Yamān</i>	=	right hand.
<i>Zappā</i>	=	bar.
<i>Aj</i>	=	nose.

⁴ Compare the Armenian, Georgian, Glagolitic, Mæso-Gothic, and Russian.

⁵ *Grammatik der Äthiopischen Sprache*, von Dr. August Dillman. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage, von Dr. Carl Bezold. (Leipzig, 1899.)

Phœnician characters: while  and  have merely received an additional perpendicular line.





Accordingly, two main theories have hitherto been propounded. One school derives it directly from the Phœnician: while the other holds the Himyaritic to be the parent script from which the Phœnician was derived.





Phonetic considerations seem to militate against both these theories. Sabæan was a Semitic language: and the Phœnician alphabet was designed for the expression of Semitic sounds. If, therefore, the Sabæans had borrowed the Phœnician characters, they would have required very little modification to enable them to be applied to the Sabæan language.

The later Arabs adopted the twenty-two letters of the Syriac alphabet; added six others by means of diacritical points: and so formed the modern Neskhi alphabet of twenty-eight characters, properly adapted for the expression of the Arabic language.

In like manner, the Sabæans had only to add seven characters to the Phœnician alphabet, to get a proper notation for the twenty-nine sounds they recognised in their own language. Or, conversely, if the Himyaritic were the earlier, the Phœnicians had only to omit seven characters in order to have a full notation for the twenty-two sounds that *they* recognised. But a comparison of the two scripts demonstrates that the borrowing of one from the other did not take this simple form.

The Semitic languages possess a peculiar series of aspirates, sibilants, and dentals, that either do not exist, or have not the same importance, in other families of speech: and it is a remarkable fact that the anomalies of the Himyaritic writing lie in the characters denoting these specially Semitic sounds.

Thus, the Phœnician provides characters for  and : the Himyaritic has two entirely different figures for these aspirates, viz.  and .

The Phœnician has separate letters for  and : the Himyaritic ignores these, and writes  : obvious modifications of one another.

In other words, the signs to express the purely Semitic sounds *had to be re-invented by the Sabæans*. The obvious conclusion, therefore, would be that the Himyaritic alphabet was derived from a non-Semitic source: that is to say an alphabet which did not recognise

the Semitic distinctions. It is scarcely necessary to add that this non-Semitic alphabet could hardly have been anything else than the Ancient Greek.

It may be objected that the names of the Ethiopic letters could not have been derived from the customary Greek names. To this it may be replied that we only know these Greek names through the later grammarians. In early times the letters would certainly be denoted by words having greater affinity to the original Phœnician. Furthermore our customary Greek alphabet has been handed down to us in the form officially adopted at Athens as late as 403 B.C.⁶ (commonly called the Later Attic), whereas, as we shall see, the probable parent of the Himyaritic belonged to another branch of Grecian epigraphy.


It may also be objected that the Himyaritic is an alphabet of consonants only—whereas an important feature of the Greek is the vowels. But it is a remarkable fact that “In no Semitic script has an equal value been given to vowels and consonants. Ethiopian is only a variant of the other Semitic scripts, like Arabic and Hebrew, where the vowels appear like a flying column, sometimes above, sometimes below, and sometimes in the middle of the troop of consonants.”⁷ The peculiar structure of the Semitic languages makes a purely consonantal system appropriate, if not necessary to them.





In support of the Greek derivation, however, we may remark that the earliest Himyaritic inscriptions are written boustrophedon. That is to say the first line runs from right to left, the second from left to right, the third right to left again, so that the column zigzags backwards and forwards in the style of a plough going over a field. This method of writing is never found in Phœnician, but is characteristic of early Greek. The oldest Hellenic inscriptions are written from right to left (retrograde) like Semitic. Then a spiral fashion was adopted: and this was developed into the “boustrophedon”; a fashion that endured in some parts of Greece down to the time of the Persian wars.

The next peculiarity of the Himyaritic is that each word is marked off by a perpendicular stroke. This also is an early Greek




⁶ *The History of the Alphabet*, by Isaac Taylor (London, 1883), Vol. II, pp. 55-57.







⁷ Dr. D. H. Müller in J. T. BENT'S *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, p. 280.




custom. The early Phœnician inscriptions have the words divided by points, with upright lines at the end of sections. In Greece the upright line was gradually discontinued after the simplification of *iota* into I. The Himyaritic met the difficulty by attaching a circle to the *iota* (or *yamān*) thus , which sufficiently prevented confusion with the word-divider.



Two characters of the Himyaritic have greatly puzzled palæographers. They are No. 15 *Wāwē*  and No. 3 *Hāut* . Dr. Prætorius⁸ has explained what these really are.  is the normal early form of the Greek *Phi* Φ .  is a variant of the Dorian or Western form of *Khi* Ψ . Kirchhoff demonstrated that the ancient local alphabets of Greece fell into two classes, distinguished by the notation employed for the aspirated *K*, i.e., *Khi*. The Eastern, or Ionian branch, used *X*; hence the form of the letter in the customary Greek alphabet. The Western, or Dorian branch, used Ψ a letter developed from Φ *Koppa*.⁹



It would therefore appear that we have to look for the origin of the Himyaritic in a Dorian form of the Greek alphabet. But, before going any further, it will be well to examine the Himyaritic alphabet itself more closely. A comparison of the characters will show that many of them are diacritical modifications of others belonging to the same class in the Semitic system of sounds. Thus—

 *h* is the original of  *h* and  *h*.

From  *s* are derived  *s*,  *ṣ*,  *ṣ̣*,  *ṣ̣̣* and  *ṣ̣̣̣*.

From  *t* come  *ṭ* and  *ṭ̣*.

Two *Gaml*s  side by side make  *ḡ*.

Two *Šāuts*  back to back make  *ṣ̣̣̣*.

Eleven of the Himyaritic characters can thus be confidently accounted for as differentiations of other characters; and as there are twenty-nine letters in the alphabet, we are only called upon to show the origin of *eighteen*.

Plate II will demonstrate that these eighteen Himyaritic letters may easily be derived from a Greek alphabet of the Dorian class, such as was employed in the seventh century B.C.; whereas the contemporary (or earlier) Phœnician differs so materially that it cannot

⁸ *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. 58, p. 461 ff.

⁹ *History of the Alphabet*, Vol. II, p. 93.

be accepted as the parent script. The resemblances with the Greek are so close that there is no need to seek for *transitional* forms. The difficulty of the upholders of the Phœnician theory has always been to show the transition from Phœnician to Himyaritic. The graffiti of Safa have been deduced as being transitional; but they are much too late in date; for they are attributed to the second century of the Christian era. They are merely a degraded form of the Himyaritic; and, so far as they are transitional at all, it is between the Himyaritic and the Ethiopic.

The date 650 B.C. has been fixed upon because we have already seen that it was then that Greek adventurers first had the opportunity of coming into direct contact with the people of Southern Arabia. Some Himyaritic peculiarities would point to an earlier period. The word-division by lines, and the boustrophedon direction of the writing are *early* Greek features. On the other hand the main characteristics of the Dorian script persisted much later, and may be traced, for example, in the well known Spartan trophy which still adorns the Atmeidan at Constantinople,¹⁰ and dates from 476 B.C.

Plate II is furnished with the customary names of the Greek letters; though, as already remarked, there is nothing to prevent our assuming that in the seventh century B.C. they were practically identical with those known from the Hebrew. Herodotus (i, 39) tells us in the case of one letter at least the Ionic name differed from the Dorian.

Alpha. This letter sometimes assumed a form $\hat{\alpha}$ much more like the Himyaritic, but the ordinary **A** would have been sufficient.

Beta. The Himyaritic sign for *b* was β ; in the earliest period \mathfrak{M} ; while *m* was \mathfrak{B} . It is obvious that we have here the Greek **M** and **B**; and we have only to assume that *m* and *b* interchanged their powers (not an impossible thing in Arabic) to at once understand the source of the Sabæan characters.

Gamma and *Delta* require no comment, except to note that a line has been added to the latter.

Epsilon and *Eta* being vowels, were useless to the Sabæans. The latter character, it is true, was employed by the Greeks of that period as an aspirate: but the aspiration was probably too feeble for Semitic use.

¹⁰ *History of the Alphabet*, p. 50.

Fau represented a sound that exists in modern Arabic; but the Himyaritic preferred to adopt *Pi*. It may be—of course—that the sound was *p* in Arabic at that time.

The Greek *Zeta*, as is well known, was not pronounced like our Latin *Z*, but had a sound like *dz* which was useless in Arabic.

Theta, likewise, was an aspirated *T* or *th*, a sound unknown in Semitic.

Iota is a striking testimony of the derivation of the Himyaritic from the Greek. In the Phœnician and Aramæan alphabets it has a somewhat complicated form; whereas the Early Greek inscriptions show us a gradual simplification resulting in *I*.

Kappa has passed over into Himyaritic with a slight change, as already pointed out in connection with the Phœnician theory.

Lambda in the earliest Hellenic inscriptions has the same form as the Phœnician, with the transverse stroke at the bottom, a fashion still preserved in the Latin *L*. At a later period the stroke crept upwards, and we get **┐** then **^** and finally **Λ**. Here again we have a distinct Greek form as opposed to the Phœnician.

Nu is rather more closely allied to the Greek than the Phœnician.

Ksi **Ξ** was useless to the Semites.

Omicron and the Semitic *Ain* offer the same form; and if the Dorian letter bore any name like *Ain*, a Semite could hardly miss taking it to represent the sound of **ʔ**.

Pi is sufficiently like the Greek letter **Π** tilted, to leave us little doubt of its origin.

San **Μ** must be included in any complete ancient Grecian alphabet. Quite irrespective of its appearance in the *abecedaria*, it was a lapidary and numismatic character for a prolonged period. This letter at once explains the provenance of the Himyaritic *Sāt* **ሰ** (*s*) which has been slightly differentiated to distinguish it from *Bēt* **በ** (*b*). *Sāt* **Ⲕ** is modified, by the addition of an annulet into *Ṣaḏāi* **ሰ** to represent the allied sound **ṣ**; and this gives rise to other characteristic Himyaritic symbols.

Koppa calls for no remark.

Rho sometimes assumes the form **Ⲕ** in Old Greek inscriptions; and this would account for the Himyaritic **ሰ**.

Sigma is another character whose evolution can be traced on Greek soil.

While *Tau*, or *Tāwi* **X** has a form that never occurs in Greece ; but is a common Semitic shape for the letter.

Upsilon, being a vowel, was useless in the Sabæan.

Phi and *Khi* have already been referred to.

(Ψ and Ω are not Dorian letters ; consequently they do not figure in any alphabet of the Western type.)

We may claim, therefore, that the balance of probability is entirely on the side of the derivation of the Himyaritic writing from the Greek alphabet. Eighteen Himyaritic letters have to be accounted for ; and, of these, seventeen clearly resemble the Greek, while one only points to a Phœnician source. With the exception of *Aleph*, *Ain*, *Kof* and *Shin* ; only those characters were taken over that had the same value in Greek as in Phœnician ; and the framer of the Himyaritic alphabet was so ignorant of the Phœnician writing, that he took the trouble to invent characters for Semitic sounds that were already provided for in the original Phœnician. The Himyaritic monuments have the words divided by upright lines ; and the earlier ones are written boustrophedon. Both these fashions are characteristic of the Greek inscriptions of a very early period ; but we cannot suppose that the Southern Arabians could have learned such methods of writing until Egypt admitted Greeks within her borders, so that we must make the middle of the seventh century B.C. our earliest date for the origin of the Himyaritic script.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, May 8th, 1907, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Rev. W. T. Pilter.—“A **Hammurabi Text**, from **Assurbanipal's Library**.”

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION, 1907.

Fourth Meeting, May 8th, 1907.

REV. W. T. PILTER

IN THE CHAIR.

The following gift to the Library was announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donor :

From W. E. Crum, Esq.—Thirty volumes of the “Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire.”

Miss Hughes, Ross, Hereford,
Miss C. M. Longdon, Derby,
R. Berens, Esq., 14, Prince's Gardens, S.W.,
were elected Members of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—

REV. W. T. PILTER : “A Hammurabi Text, from Ashshurbanipal's Library.”

Thanks were returned for this communication.

BARŞAUMÂ THE NAKED.

BY W. E. CRUM.

Visitors to the church of St. Mercurius the Two-sworded (Abû 's-Saifain), in 'Old Cairo,' may have noticed, among the uncouth pictures which decorate its walls, one depicting an old man, naked and, if I rightly recollect, standing upon a rubbish mound.¹ This represents Barşaumâ al-'Uryân, one of the latest worthies to be added to the Coptic calendar.² His biography, which I here publish, states that he died on the last day of the year 1033 of the Martyrs = A.D. 1317,³ and the *Synaxarium*, which corroborates this date, adds that he was then over sixty. He would be born therefore shortly after the rule of the Baḥrî Mamlûks had been substituted for that of the Ayyûbites (1250).

All the facts known about him are to be found in the texts here printed or analyzed, the account in the Arabic *Synaxarium*⁴ being

¹ See A. J. Butler, *Ancient Coptic Ch.* i, 77.

² Another saint honoured in the Cairo churches and, I think, only there, is Furaj (so in Cairo *Euchologion*). The son of fellahs at Minyah Tamin, in the W. Delta, he spent a wandering life with his camels, selling salt in the villages. To one small camel he was much attached and took, like it, the name Ruwais, 'little master.' He seems also to have borne the names Theophanios (v. MS. Rylands 69, f. 93 sq.) and Teji (both equated with Ruwais in the diptychs). During persecutions, he would hide in the *sebakh* holes, depending for sustenance on heavenly visions. He refused all alms and, concealing his real name, posed as a fool 'for Christ's sake.' Followed by his admirers, he was much consulted by credulous women and worked various 'miracles.' He died in A.D. 1405, and was buried in 'the church of Al-Iḥandaḳ' (v. *Paris arabe* 282, f. 82 b sq.).

³ The current calendar, *An-Natijah as-sanawiyah* (Tawfik Press, AM. 1623), dates his death in 1320.

⁴ Transl. from a Cairo copy in Butler ii, 374. With this I have compared the Florentine and (incomplete) Göttingen MSS. and found no essential variations. The Melkite adaptation, *Br. Mus. Or.* 2328, of course omits him. Barşaumâ is mentioned by Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* ii, 10.

but an abbreviation of these or of a common source. The Ethiopic version of the *Synaxarium* (which I have read in Brit. Mus. Or. 661, foll. 159*b*, 160*a*), though likewise an abbreviation, is quite independent of the foregoing and reproduces much more closely the details of our biography. The Copto-Arabic 'Antiphonary' (*Difnâr*) has three Hymns for Barṣaumâ's festival, but they contain nothing of interest.⁵ One of them is intended to be sung before his picture (*kûnah*). He is, however, referred to by Maḳrîzî, in his notice of the monastery of Shahrân,⁶ and also in the Sa'îdic *Triadon*, § 687, as the 'sage of our time'—words which (as I have elsewhere observed⁷) should help towards dating that work.

Whether the Arabic text was the original composition I do not feel able to decide. At such a period it is, of course, not impossible that the Coptic should rather be a version from the Arabic.⁸ Yet, so far as can be judged from the remnant preserved of the former, I do not see sufficient reason to assume this. The occurrence at any rate in the Arabic of the word *σκούδριος* (if I am right in so reading it), should support the more normal presumption of a Coptic original.

The Arabic MSS. used are three. (1) Paris *MS. arabe* 72, dated A.D. 1358 and here referred to as P. Though frequently unpointed and demanding control from the other MSS., this shows generally the best readings. (2) Bodleian, *Cod. Græc.* 29. This younger text, referred to as O, is decidedly inferior to P, but I have collated it throughout. (3) Paris *MS. arabe* 282, dated A.D. 1650 and referred to as P₂, is accurately written and useful. Unfortunately I have only been able to collate it at selected points. My analysis of the 'Miracles,' which merit a more adequate study than I can give them, is taken from this.

The Coptic fragment, which corresponds to the close of the Arabic text, is preserved in Woide's collection (Clarendon Press, no. 65), all the other fragments of which are parchment leaves, most probably from the White Monastery. Among these our four paper leaves (each $7 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in.) appear somewhat incongruous. It might indeed be doubted whether the popularity of Barṣaumâ's story ever reached the further Thebaid. From those southern districts we

⁵ I have consulted the Borgian MS., now in the Vatican.

⁶ I. Casanova in *Bull. de l'Inst. franç.* i, 175.

⁷ Eg. Expl. Fund's *Report*, 1903-04, 78.

⁸ Cf. the history of John of Phanijôit and Casanova, *loc. cit.*, 113 ff.

have neither mass-books (with the diptychs) nor *Synaxaria*, whereby to ascertain this; though even if such were available, they would, in all probability, but show the usage of recent generations, long subsequent to the extinction of provincial differences in matters liturgical. On the other hand, it is not easy to see why, in the fourteenth century—for to that period we may safely assign our MS.⁹—Saʿidic texts should still have been in demand in the north; indeed there are examples of a palæographical type, similar to that of our fragment, having come both from the White Monastery and from Ashmûnain.

The Saʿidic idiom which it exemplifies is, as might be expected, a debased one. Not only are there plain signs of Bohairic influence (art. ΠΙ-, rel. ΕΤΑ-, gen. ΠΠΠ-,¹⁰ forms ΠΠΟΤ, ΕΠΠΟΤ, ΟΤΑΒ, ΠΕΤΕ, ΧΩ = ΚΩ, ΑΠΠ = ΑΑΠ, $\overline{\text{OC}}$, though not ΦΤ), but the scribe violates Saʿidic usage to an extent which shows how far classical standards had been forgotten (prep. ΖΙΕΧΠ-, ΠΓΑΖΙ-, initial Τ- = ΕΤ-, omission of genit. Π-, confusion of ΖΠ- ΖΕΠ-, ΚΑ- with following Π- of object, incorrect forms ΤΠΟ = ΟΠΟ, ΠΕΠΤΩΣ, etc.)

The Arabic text is given from Paris 72, excepting where the pointing of the others suggested a more intelligible reading. The constant and, in such texts, normal use of د for ذ, ت for ث, the confusion of ا- and ي-, ي and پ and of the case-endings, have not been altered in print. I have, however, for reasons of space, omitted certain passages, both from the text and translation, which contained nothing of interest or of unusual obscurity. The parts of the translation whereof the text is printed, are marked in both by large capitals, A to G, the end of each such passage being indicated by a bracket.

⁹ See the accompanying plate, kindly reproduced by Mr. Nash. The script is much like that of Bodl. Hunt. 393 (*Mystère des Lettres*) of A.D. 1393, and of Paris *copte* 44 (*Scala*) of A.D. 1389. Cf. my Brit. Mus. Catal., pp. xii, xiii. Note also that the same rare abbreviation for πάλis is used as in Paris 44, f. 78 a.

¹⁰ In Mat. xxv, 34; cf. variants in Horner's Boh. text.

ARABIC TEXT.

A اعلّموا يا احباي ان هذا الربّ القديس العظيم في
 المجاهدين¹¹ انبا برصوما العريان كان ابود من مدينة مصر حايقان¹²
 من الله محبين للغربا سالكين طرق النصرانية جيّدا وكان لهم
 اموال جزيلة ثم ان والد هذا القديس تقدّمت له مباحرات ومن
 جعلتها عند شجر الدر واعطاه الله عندها قبول حتى صار اسمه
 شايح في جميع البلاد واكمل الله لهم النوح والسرور بيّدا الولد
 المبارك ذو الاسم المكرّم برصوما وربود بكل ادب صالح وتعلم الكتابة
 وحفظ الكتب المقدسة التي هي اناس الله ولما تمادت الايام
 واكمل والده عمرد بشيخوخة حسنة تزيح وانتقل من هذا العالم
 بسلام وصنعوا عنه صدقات للمساكين والمنقطعين والايّتام والارامل
 وقدموا عنه قرابين كثيرة واستمروا على مثل ذلك الى كمال
 السنة وبعد هذا تزيحت والدّة القديس برصوما فحزن كثيرا بسببها¹³
 ثم ان خاله بدا يحجّر عليه في مديرات¹⁴ والديه فلما را القديس
 (f. 32 b) برصوما ان خاله قد استولى على المال جميعه¹⁵ وافكاره
 تقائله على محبة هذا العالم تركه فلم¹⁶ يخاصمه على شى يزول عن
 قريب واتى الى هذا القديس اقاربه وبعض معارفه يكلّفود مطالبه
 خاله بما قد استولا عليه من مديرات والديه فاجابهم قائلا لا يجب
 لنا ان نفعل شيئا¹⁷ من هذا لان المنخلص قال في انجيله المقدسة¹⁸

11 O القديسين.

12 O محبدين لله.

13 P بسببها.

14 O تمتعات.

15 O قد انقلب حواسه جميعه.

16 O العالم الزايل فلم.

17 P شى.

18 Matt. v, 39 + Luke vi, 29.

لا تقاوموا الشر البتة، ومن اراد ان ياخذ توبك فلا تمنعه رداك
وقال يعقوب الرسول فى رسالته¹⁹ ان صحبة هذا العالم هى عداوة لله
وتركهم ومضى ولم يخاصم خاله ولا حاكمه البتة واضمر فى نفسه الموت
وترك المال وانه لا ينفع²⁰ شىء منه

B وكان مداومًا للصلاة بلا فتور ليلا ونهارا والصوم المتواتر والسهر
الطويل ولما مضت حدد المدة وهو فى هذا الجهاد العظيم حتى
ان جسده الناعم يبس والتصق جلده بعظمة اذركه²¹ فكرة صالحة
من قبل الروح القدس الساكن فيه فقال فى نفسه اقوم الان وامضى
من هذا المكان ليلا اعرف به ويحصل²² لى الافتخار فيه والمجد
الباطل الذى تحبه الناس وهم متمسكين به فقام للوقت وبدا
يودع المكان بالصلاة (f. 33 b) قبل انصارفه منه²³ فلما ختم الصلاة
وقال امين ارشم داته بعلامة الصليب المقدس ومضى منه وهو
يتلوا المزمعير الى ان وصل بيعة الشبيد العظيم²⁴ مرقوريوس بمصر
وعبر الدنيا واقام بالمغارة التى بيا وبدأت نعمة الله تظهر فيه وكان
فى تلك المغارة تعبانا عظيما لا تقدر الانسان ينزل اليها ليقد فيها
مصباح من خوف ذلك الوحوش وكانوا اهل البيعة فى حزن شديد
لاجل هذا الحال ولما اراد الله تعالى اظهار ابينا القديس برصوما
العريان ليصنع الحقاوى على يديه فابتدا²⁵ بالصلاة وبسط
يديه وصلى

¹⁹ James iv, 4.

²⁰ P ينفعه.

²¹ So P2 ; P O اذركته.

²² O ويحصل.

²³ O منا.

²⁴ O الجليل.

²⁵ So P2 ; P O فابتدا.

C وان التذنين لما را²⁶ القديس هاش عليه وحارب معه زمان وكان ابينا برصوما يتلوا في هذا المزبور²⁷ قايلًا تطفى الافعا والحية الجردا وتدوس الاسد (f. 34 a) والتذنين ولما فرع من تلاوته مسك ذلك التعبان بيدد وقال له من الان يا مبارك ليس لك سلطان ولا قوة توذى احدا من الناس بل تكون مستأنس وسامع وطايع لما اقول لك ومن قبل ان يذقطع الكلام من فم القديس انبا برصوما احتدى التعبان وسكن عن ما كان فيه

D وقد امانت هذا القديس جسده ونفسه عن شهوات هذا العالم وصنع جهادا عظيم في المعارة واتعاب كثيرة شاقه بالجوع والعطش وبدا يصوم يومين ويومين وتلثة وتلثة الى ان صام الاسبوع جميعه من غير سأل واشرق النور عليه وكان اذا وقف للصلاة يبتعد عنه التعبان المقدم ذكره واذا جلس القديس ويدعيه فانه ياتيه وكان يطعمه ويسقيه لانه كان رحوم على ساير الاجناس واذا اتا انسان قاصد زيارة الالب فيجد ذلك التعبان راقدا تحت اقدامه فيخاف منه ويرجع لوقته لانه كان شنيع المنظر واعد القديس قايلًا يا مبارك من الان اذا اتا احدا الى هذا المكان اخفى نفسك ولا تظهر الى حين تمضى فحرك ذلك التعبان راسه مثل الطايع الذى يقول نعم ومن ذلك اليوم لم يرجع ذلك الوحوش يظهر لمن ياتى لزيارة ابينا القديس وكان يذلل الى تلك البير التى بالبيعة (f. 35 a) فى شهر طوبة ويتقدم لله سجودا وطلبات كثيرة بلا فتور

E ولما اتفق للشعب المسيحى غايقة عظيمة طلع ابينا القديس برصوما الى سطح البيعة المتقدم ذكرها واختفى فى مكان ملازم الصوم والصلاة ليلا ونهارا يسال الله فى الخطاة ان يغفر لهم

²⁶ راء O.

²⁷ Cf. Ps. xci, 13.

خطاياهم وكان يقول الويل لنا يا رب عند ما كثرت اثمنا
واعضدناك باعمالنا التى هى شهوات قلوبنا واهوية انفسنا وطولت
روحك علينا فلم نرجع وان الشعب (f. 35 b) المسيحى جميعه
اختلفا من المسليطين وضج²⁸ وقلق لما جرى من تلك الضايقة فعلم
الركى البار بروح القدس الساكن فيه ان ليس لهم مقدرة على هذه
الشدة²⁹ وتحقق تلافهم³⁰ فقام وصلى بابتهاى الى الله تعالى بدموع
غزيرة وحرقة قلب وتندد شديد وهو على هذا النظام مدة اسبوع
كامل فاستجاب الرب سبحانه طلبة هذا الاب ورفع غضبه عنهم وفتح
ايهم بعض الكنايس واقام هذا التديس بسطح البيعة مداوم الصوم
والصلاة ليلا ونهارا فى الحر والبرد حتى ان جسده احترق واضمحل
من الجهاد وكان يحملون الكنيسة خشبة بارزة فرح بها كثيرا وصار
عند ما تغرب الشمس يقف عليها ويصلى الى الصباح وعند ما كان
العدو يعاتله بالزوم يرفع³¹ عينيه نحو السماء ببكاء عظيم قائلا كيف
انام والاله بنظرنى عن يموت كيف ينام من يحاسب كيف³² يهدا
جاهدى يا نفس ما دام لك زمان ومهلة قبل ان ينقلوك من
هذا العالم ويعرضوك على الديان يوم الدينونة ويكشف عن اعمالك
فيجذدك غير طايعة ومخالفة لوصاياه فيسلمك الى المعدبين
وتصيرى (f. 36 a) فى محل الحزن والبكاء وبهذا الكلام كان النوم
يضره عنه ويحصل له الفايذة الروحانية كان وادا حصل له افتخار
من قبل العدو بما كان يعمل من النسك فيقاتل افكاره قائلا ان
مخلصنا قال فى انجيله المقدس³³ ادا عملتم كل البر قولوا انا عبيد
بطلين انما عملنا ما امرنا به ولما راي عدو الخير اعمال ابينا

²⁸ O وضج.²⁹ O الشهدة.³⁰ O تلاوهم.³¹ P ترفع.³² كيف ينام يهدا P2.³³ Luke xvii, 10.

القدیس قد تزايدت بالصوم والصلاة والدموع الغزيرة فلم يطيق ان يحملها حرك اناس اشرار اردوا باغضين النخیر عضوا واحملوا الحاكم والمحتسب والمتولى بالمدينة قايلين ان المراسيم الشريفة برزت ان لا يقيم احدا بالكنائس والان فى هدد الكنيسة انسان نصرانى يقرأ فينا الليل والنهار وقد احلناكم به وبقتضيته ولم يبق فى دعتنا شى وللوقت حضر المتولى والحاكم والمحتسب ومعهم جمعا كبير الى كنيسة الشنيد العظيم مرقوريوس بمصر فلما سمع ابينا القدیس برصوما العريان غلبتكم العظيمة لم يخاف لانه كان متواكلا على الرب سبحانه فى كل حين فبدى يصلى قائلا ابانا الذى فى السموات الى اخرها (f. 36 b) ورشم دات، بعلاءة الصليب المقدس وان الجماعة فتحوا باب البديعة واخرجوا القدیس واقاموا امام المتولى فسأله قائلا عن ادنك ان تقيم فى هدد الكنيسة وخالت³⁴ المرسوم الشريف فلم يجيبه القدیس بكلمة واحدة وللوقت امر بضربه السياط فحُرب عن يد مقدم يعرف بالسكندرى³⁵ وبعد ان³⁶ ضربه ارعى المقدم ما كان بيدد³⁷ وان ابينا القدیس قال كان المملوك محتاج لاجراج الدم الثمانى واخذ ما ضرب به وناوله للمقدم وقال له يكون هذا معك تنتفع به فى القلعة وبعد ثلاثة ايام تمت نبوة الاب وطلب المقدم المذكور واستقر مقعده بالدولة

TRANSLATION.

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, one God (unto Whom be glory) :—

We begin, with the help of Our Lord Jesus Christ (unto Whom be Glory), to relate the History of the virtuous father and perfect

³⁴ O وخالت.³⁵ O P2 سكندرى.³⁶ P om. ان.³⁷ P2 الشيب عن يدد فاخذد الاب وناوله اليه قائلا له.

teacher, the saintly, the blessed, the holy, the noble, chosen vessel, the great light among champions, the man of God in truth, Anbâ Barşaumâ the Naked, son of Al-Wajih,³⁸ the secretary of Shajr ad-Durr,³⁹ known as Ibn at-Tabbân,⁴⁰ and of what wonders God manifested at his hands and the finishing of his virtuous career, on the 5th day of the month Nasî, of the year 1033 of the pure Martyrs. May his saintly blessing protect us all. Amen.

Blessed be God Almighty, Who alone doeth marvels, and blessed the Holy Ghost, the Comforter of all them that in faith do seek Him. O Christ-loving people, gathered in God's church for the commemoration of our saintly father Barşaumâ, the naked as to vice yet clothed in a garment of virtues, be mercy increased upon you and may peace and grace descend upon you. Amen. Remember what said the Apostle Paul, the tongue of perfume and teacher of the nations, in saying: (Eph. iv, 1, 2) **A.** Know, my beloved, that the parents of this saintly father, the great [light] among champions, Anbâ Barşaumâ the Naked, were from the town of Mişr, God-fearing people, lovers of the poor, and walkers indeed in the paths of Christianity; and they had abundant riches. Furthermore, unto the father of this saint was given office, namely, in the employ of Shajr ad-Durr, and God granted him acceptance before her, so that his name became famous in all the land. And God completed their joy and happiness by (the gift of) this blessed child, bearer of the honoured name Barşaumâ.⁴¹ And they brought him up in all good upbringing and book-learning; and he observed the holy scriptures, that are the breath of God. And after a long while and when his father had fulfilled his life in a good old age, he went to rest and passed peacefully from this world. And they gave alms on his

³⁸ In title of P, Wajih ad-Din (not exclusively Christian, *v.* Quatremère, *Sult. Maml.*, ii, I, pp. 51, 253, *Abd al-Latif*, 479); but in *Synaxar.*, Al-Wajih Mufaqqal, regarding the first as a title.

³⁹ The first Mamluke ruler of Egypt, widow of eş-Şâlih Aiyûb, wife of Aybek. *Ob.* 1257. Neither Maḳrizî nor aş-Şafadi (to whom Mr. H. F. Amedroz referred me and whom M. Blochet consulted, Paris no. 2065) mentions her Coptic secretary.

⁴⁰ 'The Straw-seller,' not exclusively a Christian name (*v.* Wüstenfeld, *Calcaschandi* 76), though such trade-names seem to have been common among them: b. al-'Assâl, b. (aş-)Şabbâg, b. (ar-)Raḥḥal. The *Synax.* has 'his mother was of the family (*awlâd*) of at-Tabbân;' but the Coptic fragment shows that the name applies to Barşaumâ's father, not grandfather.

⁴¹ Honoured because borne by the notorious Monophysite champion, B. the monk, *ob.* 458 (*v.* *Bibl. Or.* ii, 1, *Synax.* 9th Emshir).

behalf unto the poor and friendless and the orphans and widows and offered many offerings for him; and thus they continued until the completion of the year.⁴² And thereafter the mother of Saint Barṣaumâ went to rest and he grieved greatly on her account.

Then began his maternal uncle to interdict him (the use of) the inheritance of his parents. And when Saint Barṣaumâ saw how that his uncle had got possession of all the property and that his intention was to oppose him on account of the love of this world, he left him and contended not with him for aught that quickly perisheth. And there came unto the saint his relatives and certain of his acquaintance, being urgent with him that he should require of his uncle that of his parents' inheritance whereof he had possessed himself. And he answered them saying: 'It is not meet for us to do any such thing; for the Saviour hath said in His holy gospel: (Mat. v, 39, Lu. vi, 29); and James the Apostle hath said in his Epistle: (Ja. iv, 4).' And he left them and departed and contended not with his uncle, neither sued he him at all at law. And he meditated upon death and the forsaking of (worldly) goods, and how no profit is to be had therefrom. And he said: 'Arise now and make haste⁴³ in the salvation of the soul from Judgment; for Our Saviour hath said in His holy Gospel: (Mat. xvi, 25-27).' And as for him, he went forth to without the town and chose the manner of life of Job the Just; for he, in his affliction, did sit upon the dunghills, and our father Barṣaumâ sat upon the rubbish-mounds⁴⁴ of this town, five years, in the heat of summer and cold of winter. No raiment bore he upon his body, but was naked, covered with a cloth.⁴⁵ And he would say within himself: 'O Barṣaumâ, know that thou canst not be but naked as thou standest in the presence of God.' And he said again: 'Tis meet I should be naked even as my Lord. For He was naked upon the cross. And the body, if I leave it naked for the love of God in this world, and it die, so shall it live in that world which is

⁴² On commemorations of the dead, *v. Lagarde, Aeg.* 285 = Horner, *Stat.* 385, Lane, *Mod. Eg.* (1st ed.) i, 336; also Brit. Mus. Copt. Catal. no. 846; on offerings, *ib.* nos. 398, 445, 786.

⁴³ اسعى فى.

⁴⁴ كيمان.

⁴⁵ عتذرا بعباءة. On the *abbāyeh v.* Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i, 43. Here it can scarcely be more than a loin cloth (but cf. Dozy, *Dict. des Vêtm.* 292). The *Ethiopic Synax.* has 'The girdle of his loins was of hair cloth.'

to come; and the Lord shall clothe it with a garment of light.' **B.** And he was constant in prayer without ceasing, night and day, and oft-repeated fastings and long vigils.

Now when this time was passed by, he fighting thus mightily, so that his tender flesh was dried up and clave unto his skin, through the greatness in holy thoughts whereunto he attained by the Holy Spirit that dwelt within him, then he said within himself: 'Arise now and depart hence, lest I become known here and pride here come upon me and vain glory that men love and cleave to.' And forthwith he arose and set about taking leave of the place with prayer, ere he passed forth from thence. And having ended the prayer and said Amen, he signed himself with the sign of the holy cross and went thence, repeating psalms, till he reached the church of the great martyr Mercurius, in Mişr,⁴⁶ and into it he passed and staid in the vault that was therein.⁴⁷ And the grace of God began to be manifested in him.

And there was in this vault a mighty serpent and men could not descend into it, to light a lamp there,⁴⁸ for the fear of that beast; and the people of the church (*sc.* the clergy) were in great grief because of this. And when God (be He exalted!) desired the manifestation of our saintly father Barşaumâ the Naked, that at his hands He might do mighty works, he (Barşaumâ) began his prayer, spreading forth his hands and praying] unto God (be He exalted!), saying: 'O, my Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, Thou it was didst give us power that⁴⁹ we should tread upon serpents and scorpions, and (over) all the power of the enemy. And now, O my Master, Jesus Christ, I beg Thee that Thou empower me over this beast, which is in this vault, that unto Thee may be the glory and praise,⁵⁰ for ever. Amen.' And he signed himself with the sign of the holy cross and went into the midst of the vault. **C.** And the serpent, when it beheld the saint, was excited against him and struggled with him for a time, whilst our father Barşaumâ recited from this Psalm, saying: (*cf.* Ps. xci, 13). And when he had ceased from his reciting, he laid hold upon that serpent with his hand and said unto it: 'From henceforth, O blessed

⁴⁶ Dair Abû 's-Saifain, between Fustât and Cairo. On the vault or subterranean chapel *v.* Butler, *Churches*, i, 77.

⁴⁷ *Synax.* 'near 20 years,' Ethiop. *Synax.* '33 years.'

⁴⁸ Presumably for the performance of services.

⁴⁹ Luke x, 19.

⁵⁰ تقدیس.

one, thou hast not power nor might to injure any man ; but thou shalt be tame and hearkening and obedient, when I speak unto thee.' And ere the words had ceased from the mouth of the saintly Anbâ Baršaumâ, the serpent was appeased and made an end of (the state) in which it had been.】 And it became obedient unto the saint and humbled itself unto him, even as Daniel the prophet, in the time when the fierce lions became obedient and did obeisance unto him.

Blessed art thou, O Baršaumâ ! [*A paragraph in his praise, quoting Col. iii, 9, or Eph. iv, 22, 2 Tim. ii, 11.*]

D. And this saint had deadened both his body and his soul to the desires of this world and made a great fight in the vault, with much fatiguing of his passions by hunger and thirst. And he began to fast two days at a time and three at a time, until he fasted the whole week through, unweariedly ; and he suffered the light to arise (thus) upon him. And it was so that, when he stood for prayer, the serpent already told of would depart from him. And when the saint was sat down and summoned it, it came, and he gave it to eat and to drink ; for it was gentle above the other kinds (of beasts). And if there came a man intending a visit to the father, he would find that serpent lying at rest beneath his feet, and being afraid, would straightway return ; for it was frightful to behold. And the saint commanded it, saying : ' O blessed one, from henceforth, if one shall come to this place, do thou hide thyself and appear not ere he be departed.' And that serpent moved its head, even as one obeying that saith : It is well ; and from that day forth that beast returned not to show itself unto such as came on a visit to our saintly father.

And he descended into the well that is in the church, in the month of Tûbah,⁵¹ and offered unto God many obeisances and prayers, without ceasing.】 And when he was athirst, he took of that water whereof none was able to drink, and of the water that was in the tank ;⁵² and he said unto his soul : ' Be not thou troubled at the drinking of this water, for the water of life is given thee in place of this.' And he was zealous in breaking the desires of his soul⁵³ at all times and seasons, and he said unto it : ' Turn not thou aside⁵⁴ from

⁵¹ Presumably at Epiphany, Tûbah 11. The Ethiop. *Synax.* has 'in winter (*karamt*) in the cold.' Cf. the practice of Shenoute, *Miss. franç.* iv, 4.

⁵² مَغْسَس.

⁵³ مَتَابِرَا اَنْ يَكْسِرْهُوْى نَفْسَه.

⁵⁴ لَا تَعْلَى.

the fight, lest there be fulfilled upon thee that which is written, and thou be left without fruit, repenting and lost, where repentance profiteth thee not.⁵⁵ Bestir thyself and fight, lest thy thoughts grow corrupt and thou become estranged from God, in the place of weeping and lamentation.' And he performed acts of praise⁵⁶ and adoration, as nourishment for his soul and food for his body, until he became all filled with grace.

E. And when there befell the Christian people a mighty oppression,⁵⁷ our saintly father Barşaumâ ascended unto the roof of the church aforesaid and hid himself in a certain place, busied with fasting and prayer, night and day, entreating God for sinners, that He would forgive them their sins. And he would say: 'Woe unto us, O Lord, whilst our iniquities increase and we anger Thee by our deeds, the desires, that is, of our hearts and the passions of our souls. And Thou hast been long-suffering unto us, yet have we not turned. And⁵⁸ therefore hast Thou given us over unto the powers, with the locking of our churches and commanding us to dress in black, hideous raiment upon our heads,⁵⁹ so that we become laughable unto them that behold us.' And the whole Christian people hid them from the rulers and cried out and was troubled, when this oppression came to pass. And the just and righteous man knew, by the holy spirit that dwelt in him, that they were not able (to bear) these hardships, and he was full sure of their destruction. So he arose and prayed fervently unto God (be He exalted !), with abundant weeping and burning heart and heavy groaning, and staying in this wise through the length of a whole week. And the Lord (praise unto Him !) answered the entreaties of this father and took from off them His wrath and opened for them certain of the churches.

And this saint staid upon the church roof, constant in fasting and prayer, night and day, in heat and cold, till his body was parched and diminished by reason of the fight. And there was, in

⁵⁵ A biblical reference?

⁵⁶ تقدیس.

⁵⁷ On the persecution of the Christians, probably in A.D. 1301 or 1303, *v.* Maḳrīzī, *Gesch. der Copten*, Wüstenfeld p. 74 ff., Renaudot, *Hist.*, 602, R. L. Poole, *Hist.*, 300.

⁵⁸ From here to 'behold us' in P 2 only. It refers to the sumptuary edict of A.D. 1301.

⁵⁹ The Florence *Synax.* adds to the text in Butler, *l.c.*, *وخلتوا ليم قنجل*, on which word *v.* Dozy, *Suppl.*, *s. v.*

the timbered roof⁶⁰ of the church, a beam of cedar wood, wherein he took great delight; and it was so that, as the sun set, he would stand thereon and would pray until the dawn. And when the enemy incited him to sleep, he would raise his eyes unto heaven, with much weeping, saying: 'How shall I sleep while God seeth me? He that shall die, how shall he sleep? He that must give account, how shall he take rest? Fight, O soul, so long as thou hast time and leisure, ere thou be translated from this world and caused to appear before the Judge, at the Judgment Day, and He lay bare thy deeds and find thee disobedient and having transgressed His commandments, and He deliver thee unto the punishers and thou come into the place of grief and tears.' And by these words was sleep driven from him and he got spiritual gain. And it was so that when there came upon him from the enemy pride for the deeds of piety that he had done, he would contend against his thoughts, saying: 'Our Saviour hath said, in His holy gospel: (Luke xvii, 10).'

And when the enemy of good beheld the righteous deeds of our saintly father, how that they multiplied in fasting and prayer and abundant weeping, he was not able to bear it, and he moved wicked, evil men, haters of good, and they went and told the judge and the inspectors and the magistrate⁶¹ in the town, saying: 'The august ordinances have decreed that none shall abide in the churches. But now there is in this church a Christian who stayeth therein night and day. And we have informed you concerning him and his case, and there remaineth no responsibility with us.' And forthwith the magistrate and the judge and the inspectors met together, and with them a great multitude, at the church of the great martyr Mercurius, in Mişr. And when our saintly father Barşaumâ the Naked heard their great multitude, he feared not, for he trusted in the Lord (glory unto Him!) at all times. And he began to pray, saying: 'Our Father which art in heaven,' to the end thereof. And he signed himself with the sign of the holy cross. And the multitude opened the door of the church and brought the saint forth and set him before the magistrate. And he asked him, saying: 'Who hath suffered thee to abide in this church? And thou hast set thyself against the august ordinances.' And the saint answered him not one

⁶⁰ *Jamālîn*, v. Quatremère, *Sultans*, ii, I, p. 286.

⁶¹ The *mutawelly*, chief police-magistrate. Cf. Lane, *Arab. Nights*, note on ch. ix.

word. Thereupon he bade smite him with whips; and he was smitten at the hand of an officer that was called *scutarius*.⁶² And after that he had smitten him, the officer cast aside the thing⁶³ that was in his hand; and our saintly father said: 'The slave must needs draw the foul blood.'⁶⁴ And he took that wherewith he had been smitten and handed it unto the officer and said unto him: 'Keep this; thou shalt have use for it in the citadel.' And after three days the father's prophecy was fulfilled, and the before-named officer was sought out and advanced in office in the Government.

⁶² For *σκουτάριος* (Ducange), the Copts might write **CKOYTTAPE**, the ⲕ resulting in Arabic *b. الرجالة التراسية* formed a corps at this period (Wüstenfeld, *Heerwesen*, 23). *Secundarius* (acc. to O and P2) seems less likely here, though *al-Sikandarî* (Paris *arabe* 2450) or *al-Iskandarî* (Yaḡûṭ ii, 271, Quatremère ii, II, p. 251) might be a name; less likely still a title with the ending *-dâr* (e.g. *jukandâr*).

⁶³ P 2, the strap, thong.

⁶⁴ Or 'The thing must needs.' P 2 omits this.

(*To be continued.*)

THE TABLETS OF NEGADAH AND ABYDOS.

BY F. LEGGE.

(Continued from p. 106.)




No. 8.

The tablet to which we now come was found by M. Amélineau during the winter of 1897, and I am sorry that I have been unable to obtain communication of it, or even to learn its present whereabouts. This is the more to be regretted, because it seems not impossible that appropriate means might cause more of the inscription to appear than is the case in the very bad reproduction given in M. Amélineau's book,¹ from which the illustration in the Plate is taken; and we might then have at our disposal a document which would do much to clear up the order of succession of the kings of the Ist Dynasty. M. Amélineau tells us² that the tablet is of wood, covered with grease which he had in part removed by means of ether, and that the inscription is in ink only, the ink being in some places red, and in others black. From this he draws the conclusion that the original inscription was in red, and that one in black had been superposed upon it some reigns later. This does not seem, on the face of it, very likely, as it is difficult to suggest any reason for such a palimpsest. Had the scribe of the black inscription any reason for wishing the red to remain visible, his natural course would have been to write on the other side, which, so far as can be gathered, remains blank. Had he wished, on the other hand, to erase it from hostility to the king in whose reign the first inscription was made—this is the motive to which Prof. Sethe seems inclined to

¹ *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, t. III, ptie 2. Paris, 1905. Pl. xxxvii, fig. 3.






² *Op. cit.*, pp. 425, *et seq.*









attribute such erasures³—he would probably have washed off the red inscription altogether, or, if unable to do so, would have planed down the surface until he again had a *tabula rasa* on which to work. Moreover, we shall soon see by another example that black and red inks were sometimes employed together on similar tablets without one of them being by any possibility superposed upon the other, and apparently for decorative purposes only. I therefore propose to treat the tablet in question as having been inscribed only once, and such traces of red ink as appear upon it as forming part of the same inscription as those in the black.⁴








The tablet bears the usual hole for suspension at the right-hand top corner, and the palm-leaf sign for *renpit* is also distinctly visible down the right side. We may therefore safely conclude that it belongs to the same class of inscriptions as **Nos. 5, 6, and 7**, described in last month's *Proceedings*, and like them, bore what I have ventured to call a "year name." It is also plain, as M. Amélineau points out, that the inscription when complete must have borne a strong likeness to that on **No. 5**, and probably is to be referred to the same reign. Next to the palm-leaf, we find the three semicircular or "stadium" signs appearing on **Nos. 2 and 5**, and as they are repeated and turned the other way at a little distance, it seems most likely that the figure of the king was originally represented between them in the act of pacing out the ground, as in the last-named number. Behind this was probably the other figure of the king seated under the *Sed*-canopy at the top of a staircase, as in **No. 5**, and with the help of a good glass and of some imagination, traces of this may just be discerned in M. Amélineau's illustration. Behind this, again, comes, without any doubt, a hawk-crowned rectangle or *srekh* bearing a royal name, of which the water sign  is alone to be seen. Comparing this with **No. 5**, however, there can be no doubt that this name was really Den, the hand sign above the  having become rubbed out either by age or in the course of M. Amélineau's attempts to restore the inscription. Then comes, reading from right to left, a blank in which only a fairly distinct sickle sign  is

³ *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 26.

⁴ M. Amélineau says (*op. cit.*, p. 426) that the red inscription has come out in white in the photograph taken for his Plate. I can see at the most two or three distinguishable signs in white, and in his text he deals with the black inscription only.

visible, while behind this again comes the remains of two other rectangles placed one over the other, the lower of which shows distinctly the plant sign  within the house  which Mr. Griffith would read *Het-suten*, or "The Residence of the King of Upper Egypt."⁵ Continuing to read downwards, we see under this lower rectangle some half-obliterated sign which may well be the   

suten mabti, or royal architects, of **No. 5**, and the whole of the signs on this tablet treated of up till now would then correspond exactly with those on **No. 5**, and would show that, like this last, it was intended to record the building of a palace in the reign of Den,⁶ and when Hemaka was chancellor, or vizier, of Upper Egypt. Immediately below what must have been, on this hypothesis, the name    or Hemaka, the tablet, shows a well-recognizable lion's head and forepaw, which marks here, as elsewhere, the beginning of the Formula and below the signs which I have taken for    appears in red ink (shown in the Plate by white lines instead of black) what seems to be the signs  , which corresponds with its conclusion as given in **No. 5**. This represents, I am afraid, all the signs that can be distinguished with reasonable certainty.











Returning to the other, or sinister side of the tablet, which should contain, from the analogy of **No. 5**, one or more subsidiary registers showing the events which go to make up the "year-name," we can just discern the remains of what seems to have been a city cartouche, a vase  and two  signs. I do not find myself able to make any suggestion with regard to these worthy of consideration, but M. Amélineau would see there, in addition to those mentioned, the traces of four registers, and the signs   , , and  scattered among them. He tells us that all this part is covered with grease, which he was afraid to remove for fear of causing the tablet to crumble under the drying influence of the ether. From what can be deciphered of this very interesting tablet, it seems probable that **No. 8**, recorded,

⁵ *R.T.*, I, p. 41.



⁶ The words "in the time of the Horus Den" somehow slipped out, while in proof, of the reading of **No. 5**, given on p. 105, *P.S.B.A.*, 1907.



like **No. 5**, the gifts of King Den to some temple at its foundation, but that the year-name (and probably the gifts) were different to those recorded in the last-named tablet.








No. 9.

This fragment, which was found by Prof. Petrie at Abydos during his first year's campaign, evidently once formed part of a tablet containing an inscription similar to **Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8**. We can see from what remains that the whole tablet once contained a year-name like these last, and that the name of the year in question was probably, as in the other instances, connected with the capture, or, here more probably, the building of a city. Taking the right-hand or sinister side of the dividing line, and reading from the palm-leaf inwards, we have first the remains of a complete city cartouche enclosing the signs  and . Following this are the signs  and  with the remains of what was possibly the circle  above them. Then comes what Prof. Petrie and Mr. Griffith seem to be right in identifying as the *suten bat* title  followed by , which would seem to read, "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Setui (or Siti)," while underneath this title are perhaps the tongs  and the ladder signs  (?) followed by three . Mr. Griffith suggests (*R.T.*, I, p. 41) that this may mean "having seized thirty nomes"; but I do not think the fragment is sufficiently clear for us to accept this reading.

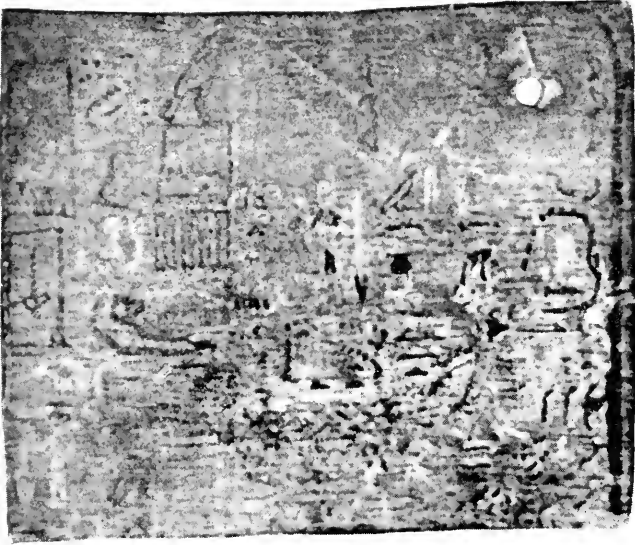
The occurrence of the name Setui or Siti enables us to assign the tablet to the reign of Den, or at any rate to that of the king who immediately preceded or followed that monarch in the 1st Dynasty.⁷

The inscription to the dexter or left-hand side of the dividing line is interesting, as it shows us what the complete or extended form of the formula was in or about the time of Den. In front of the lion's fore-part , of which we see the traces, is a vase , while

⁷ In the current number of the *Recueil de Travaux* (t. XXIX, pp. 26-29), M. Raymond Weill gives some reasons for believing that  is not a proper name. Yet I find it difficult to accept his conclusions, in view of the fact that, on these tablets, it is so often preceded by the *suten bat* .

behind it are the signs  and . Underneath are to be seen the *khet* sign  above three *shai* @ @ @ and a , followed by a vase . The signs  and  probably form part of some phrase of which the rest is missing, but the others evidently read "[The Horus gave to the temple] one thousand three hundred measures of wood and jars of wine." No doubt if **Nos. 5** and **8** were complete we should find that they bore similar formulas.

(To be continued.)



No. 8.

From Amélineau, *Fouilles d'Abydos*. Vol. III, Part 2, Pl. XXXVII, fig. 3.



No. 9.

From *Royal Tombs*. Vol. I, Pl. XI, fig. 4.



A HAMMURABI TEXT
FROM ASHSHURBANIPAL'S LIBRARY.

BY THE REV. W. T. PILTER.

The tablet to be discussed comes to us from Ashshurbanipal's library at Nineveh (Koyunjik), and has not hitherto, so far as I am aware, been either transcribed or translated by any modern scholar. The text of it, which is in Assyrian cuneiform characters, was published for the first time in Part XIII of the *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets* (Plates 46 and 47), now being issued by the Trustees of the British Museum. It is one of a series given under the title of "Legends of early Kings," and to this one is added the supplementary information, "Mention of Hammurabi, King of Babylon." But Dr. Pinches, in calling attention to the great *stela* then newly discovered in ancient Elam, observed*: "Thus much, however, is certain, namely, that the Assyrians also possessed a copy of [the text of] that important document, as is shown by Plates 46 and 47 of the British Museum publication, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, Part XIII (1901)." The full truth of this statement we shall see by the time we reach the end of our examination of the text.

The tablet itself, which bears the Registration Number Bu. 91-5-9, 221, is of hard-baked terra-cotta. Portions have been broken off the top, bottom, and each side of the tablet—which is thus but a *torso* and of irregular shape. Dr. Bezold (in his *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*) gives its greatest dimensions as $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{16}$ inches. Part of three columns of inscription are preserved on the Obverse, containing about 18 lines each, and portions of only the initial group of characters on

* "The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylon." (1902, first edition, p. 520.)

a few lines of the fourth column. The Reverse preserves the beginning of some lines of one column and portions of other two columns (some 23 lines of the penultimate and 16 of the last column, including the colophon). Each column is ruled off longitudinally from its neighbour, while a double line separates the end of the inscription proper from its colophon.

We further observe that the first column of the Obverse, and that only, is ruled off by horizontal lines into sections or paragraphs; portions of three of these are preserved, of which the middle one is intact, except for a small fracture from the left or initial side. On looking into the text of this middle section we see that the first sign on it—broken, but still pretty evident—is *-ma*, followed by *a-wi-lum*. There are sufficient remains of the first line of the third section to indicate that that line repeated the same opening words. We notice, moreover, that the middle syllable of the second word, the *wi-* of *a-wi-lum*, is written as it was in early Babylonian times, *viz.*, with the sign which in the Assyrian period was usually read *pi*. To anyone at all familiar with Hammurabi's Code, it is clear that the first lines of these paragraphs should be completed to read *Šum-ma a-wi-lum*, "If (any) man," and that the old-fashioned reading of the *pi* syllable makes it probable that we have before us a copy of some of Hammurabi's laws.

As I have said, none of the remaining columns of our tablet are crossed by horizontal lines dividing it into sections, and they, therefore, do not appear to contain law paragraphs; yet to one fresh from reading the *stela* some of the words and phrases have an almost startling Hammurabian ring about them. And—to cut short merely preliminary discussion—I may say at once that the tablet is simply a copy of the final part of Hammurabi's Code *stela*—that is the "Hammurabi Text" of which we have now to speak—and contained originally a number of the legal enactments of that *stela* and the whole of the epilogue; in proof thereof is subjoined a transliteration of the whole of the tablet, side by side with the corresponding part of the *stela* text. Then I give a translation of our tablet, followed by such philological notes as a comparison of the two texts suggests, and, in conclusion, some more general observations, partly founded upon similar extant documents.

THE TABLET.

Bu. '91-5-9, 221.

OBVERSE.

Col. A.

LINE.

5. 𐎶𐎵
 6. . . . n]a-ad-di-i[n

7. . . m]a a-wi-lu[m
 8. ardam amtam¹
 9. . . ša-am-ma
 10. . . . -la-am im-ta-la²
 11. . . . -ir (?) -ni e-li-šú
 12. . . . ta-ku-ut³
 13. . . na-di-na-ni-ma
 14. . . . ta-ar
 15. . . -a-ma-nu-um
 16. . . . -lu i-la-ki

17. -w]i-lum
 18. amtam

Col. B.

1. (?) (?)
 2. . . (?) -ul-mi-im e-eš-te
 3. -i-ši-i-na-ši-in-im
 4. pu-uš-ki wa (𐎶𐎵) -aš-tu-ti⁴
 5. ú-bi-it-ti nu-ra⁵
 6. ú-še-ši-ši-na-ši-im
 7. i-na kakkim da-an-nim

HAMMURABI'S LAW *STELA*.

REVERSE.

Col. XXIII (Col. XXXIX of
 the extant text of the *stela*).
 (Part of § "277.")

LINE.

56. IGI. 6. GAL kaspi 10-ša
 57. i-na-ad-di-in

(§ "278")

58. šum-ma a-wi-lum
 59a. ardam amtam
 59b. i-ša-am-ma
 60. arḥu-šu la im-la-ma
 61. bi-ên-ni e-li-šu
 62a. im-ta-ku-ut a-na
 62b. na-di-na-
 63. ni-šu u-ta-ar-ma
 64. ša-a-a-ma-nu-um
 65, 66. kaspu iš-ku-lu i-li-ki

(§ "279")

67. šum-ma a-wi-lum
 68a. ardam amtam

Hammurabi *stela*, Reverse XXIV
 (=Col. XL. Epilogue).

17. aš-ri šu-ul-mi-im
 18. eš-te-i-ši-na-šim
 19. pu-uš-ki wa-aš-tu-tim
 20. ú-pi-it-ti 21a. nu-ra
 21b. ú-še-zi-ši-na-ši-im
 22. i-na kakkim da-an-nim

THE TABLET.


LINE.


8. ša ilu ZA . MAL . MAL
 9. ù ilu Istar
 10. ú-ša-at-li-mu-nim
 11. i-na IGI . GAL
 12. ša ilu EN . KI i-ši-ma
 13. i-na tu-ú-tim⁶
 14. ša ilu Marduk iš-ru-kam⁷
 15. (?)-ki-ri e-li-š
 16. ša-ap-li-š

Col. C.


1.
 2. šar (*or*, in) . .
 3. -ru (?) a-na- (?)
 4. a (?) wa* (?) 'at-ú . (?)
 5. na-aš- (?)
 6. li-ú-ti ša-ni-nam
 7. ú-ul i-šú
 8. i-na ki-bi-it
 9. ilu Šamaš ù ilu Adad⁸
 10. da-i-nu di-nim
 11. pa-ri-su pu-ru-us-si-e
 12. di-e-ni li-š-te-bi
 13. i-na a-wa†-at ilu Marduk
 14. be-li‡-ia
 15. ú-zu-ra-tu-ú-a

*  Apparently.

† Written , as in l. 4 above and in l. 89 of the *stela*.

‡ Written , as in l. 90 of the *stela*.

§ No doubt, as Prof. Schiel says, a scribal error for *u-ul i-ša*. In rev. XXV, 102, *i-ša* occurs, but always elsewhere the word is written *iš-u*.

|| KALAM (), as in Col. IV, l. 10, of the bilingual Eulogy of Hammurabi on the broken statue of black basalt in the British Museum. (It was formerly No. 85, now No. 90,842, and is exhibited in the Babylonian and Assyrian Room, Wall case 6, No. 73. The text upon it is copied in Mr. King's *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, Vol. I, p. 116, and transcribed and translated in Vol. III, pp. 175, 176.)

HAMMURABI'S LAW STELA.

LINE.

23. ša ilu ZA . MAL . MAL
 24. ù ilu Istar
 25. ú-ša-at-li-mu-nim
 26. i-na IGI . GAL
 27. ša ilu EN . KI i-ši-ma-am
 28. i-na li-ú-tim
 29. ša ilu Marduk id-di-nam
 30. na-ak-ri e-li-š
 31a. ù ša-ap-li-š

Reverse, Col. XXIV (Col. XL.
Epilogue).

79. šarru ša-in (*or*, ša in) šar ali
 80. šu-tu-ru a-na-ku
 81a. a-wa-tu-ú-a
 81b. na-aš-ga
 82. li-ú-ti ša-ni-nam
 83. ú-ul i-na §
 84a. i-na ki-bi-it
 84b. ilu Šamaš
 85. da-a-a-nim ra-bi-im
 86. ša šamē ù iršiti
 87. mi-ša-ri i-na matim ||
 88. li-š-te-bi
 89. i-na a-wa-at
 90. ilu Marduk be-li-ia
 91. ú-zu-ra-tu-ú-a

THE TABLET.

LINE.

16. mu-ša-az-zi-ka a ir-ši-a

17. i-na E. SAG. ILA⁹

18. ša a-ra-am-mu-um

19. . . . (?) . . . (?) . . .

.

.

Col. D.

(Of this column only the beginnings of the initial groups of five lines are visible.)

REVERSE (Plate 47).

(We may assume that there were four columns of inscription on this side, but not a vestige remains of the first one (Col. E).)

Col. F.

(Only portions of the initial groups of about nine lines of this column are left.)

Col. G.

The first legible sign is on—

LINE.

5. ir-

6. ku-

7. um-ma-ni-šu . .

8. li-iš-(?)

9. um-ma-an-šu (?) (?)¹⁰

10. ri-(?) -ma-am

11. a ú-šar-ši

12. šu-a-ti

13. a-di¹¹ ga-at na-ak-ri-šu

HAMMURABI'S LAW STELA.

LINE.

92. mu-ša-zi-kam a ir-ši-a

93. i-na E. SAG. ILA

94. ša a-ra-am-mu šu-mi i-na da-
mi-iq-tim

[Here the column ends.]

Last Col. of the *stela*, reverse,
Col. XXVIII. (or Col. XLIV.).

LINE.

11. ir-ši-tum li-iš-ki

12. gu-ru-un

13. ša-al-ma-at

14. um-ma-na-ti-šu

15. i-na ši-ri-im

16. li-it-ta-ad-di

17. ummānu-šu ri(?)-(?)-(?) am

18. a-i ú-šar-ši

19. šu-a-ti

20. a-na ga-at na-ak-ri-šu

THE TABLET.

LINE.

14. li-ma-li-šu-ma
 15. a-na ma-at nu-ku-úr-ti-šu
 16. ka-mi-iš li-ru-ú-šu
 17. ^{ilu}NER. URU. GAL
 18. da-an-nu i-na ili *
 19. ša ga-ba-al-šu ¹²
 20. la im-ma-aḥ-ḥa-ru
 21. um-šak-ši-du ir-ni-ti-ia
 22. i-na ka-šu-ši-šu ra-bi-i
 23. ki-ma i-il-ti ¹³
 24. e-ši-(?)
 25. iš-a-am (?) ¹⁴
 26. ni-ši-šu
 27. i-na †

Col. H.

1. -ri(?) - (?)
 2. (?) -uš-tam
 3. -ru-ru-šu
 4. -ri-tum

(Blank space sufficient for one or two lines.)

5. ir a-ta-an ¹⁵
 6. . . . (?) i-na pi([⌘]⌘)-i-šu
 7. . . . (?) na-ak-ri-im
 8. . . . -ru-šu-ma
 9. . . . (?) ḥi-iš
 10. -ik-šu-da-šu

HAMMURABI'S LAW STELA.

LINE.

21. li-ma-al-li-šu-ma
 22. a-na ma-at nu-ku-ur-ti-šu
 23. ka-mi-iš li-ru-šu
 24. ^{ilu}NER. URU. GAL
 25. dan-nu-um i-na ili *
 26a. ga-ba-al
 b. la ma-ḥa-ar
 27. um-ša-ak-ši-du 28. ir-ni-ti-ia
 29. i-na ka-šu-ši-šu 30. ra-bi-im
 31. ki-ma i-ša-tim
 32. iz-zi-tim ša a-bi-im
 33. ni-ši-šu 34. li-ik-me
 35. in kakkim-šu dan-nim

Hammurabi's Code *stela*. Reverse, Col. XXVIII. (= Col. XLIV.).

82. ir-ri-tam
 83a. ma-ru-uš-tam
 b. li-ru-ru
 84. ir-ri-tim

85. da-ni-a-tim
 86. ^{ilu}Bél
 87. i-na pi([⌘]⌘)-i-šu
 88. sa la ut-ta-ak-ka-ru
 89. li-ru-ur-šu-ma
 90. ar-ḥi-iš
 91. li-ik-šu-da-šu

[End of the Hammurabi Code *stela*.]

* In both tablet and *stela ili* is written [⌘]⌘ [⌘]⌘.

† The right reading may be *in-* (and not *i-na*).

THE TABLET.

(Blank space of about four lines.)

LINE

(1) 5^{kam} di-na-a-ni

(2) ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi

(About two lines of blank space.)

(3) . . . A]L. BAD (𒀭𒀭) (i. e. *gamir*)*

(Another two lines blank space.)

(4) -šu ṣatir-ma bari¹⁷

(5) . . . ilu Aššur-bān-apli

(6) . . . ilu Aššur-KI

TRANSLATION OF THE TABLET.

Col. A.

LINE

6. *he shall give (or, pay).*7. *I]f a man*8. *a male slave (or¹) female*9. *has] purchased and*10. . . . *has fulfilled²*11. . . . *upon him*12. . . *has] fallen³*13. *to] the seller and*14. . . . *shall] return,*15. . . . *the pur]chaser*16. *[what he pai]d shall receive.*17. *If a m]an*18. . . . *female slave*

(The remainder of the column is broken away.)

* Dr. Bezold (*Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, Vol. IV., p. 1948) restores the broken sign before 𒀭𒀭 to 𒀭𒀭 (i.e., 𒀭𒀭), from K. 8708, on which (Vol. III, p. 954) he says the whole group is probably to be restored to 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 (la AL. BAD). The scribe here uses the Sumerian grammatical prefix, 𒀭𒀭, apparently to signify that the 𒀭𒀭 is not to be read as *labaru*, for which the same sign probably stood in the following line, nor as the adjective *gamru*, but as the verbal form *gamaru*, and in the third person (of the permissive), *gamir*.

Col. B.

(This is legible from line 17 of the next column (Reverse XXIV = Col. 40) of *stela*, where we are at the beginning of the epilogue. Our tablet is thus defective to the extent of 50 lines at this place.)

LINE

1.
2. of p]eace I
3. provided for them ;
4. difficult places ¹
5. I opened up ; light ⁵
6. I caused to come forth to them.
7. With the mighty weapon
8. which the god Zamama
9. and the goddess Ishtar
10. entrusted to me ;
11. with the clear vision
12. which the god Ea has decreed :
13. with the power ⁶
14. which the god Merodach has bestowed ⁷ ;
15. en]emies above
16. . . . below
-
-
-

Col. C.

(This column, when first legible at line 4, corresponds with line 81a of Col. XXIV of the Reverse of the *stela*, so that 50 lines again are missing.)

LINE

4. my] word
5. preci]ous ;
6. my power a rival
7. has not.
8. At the command of
9. the god Shamash and the god Adad,⁸
10. the judge of legal judgment
11. (and) determiner of decrees,
12. I make my legal-judgments to shine forth.

LINE.

13. *By the word of Merodach,*14. *my lord,*15. *my carved reliefs*16. *let no one efface.*17. *In Esagil*⁹18. *which I love*

.

.

.

Col. D.

(Of this column, only the beginnings of the initial syllables of 5 lines are visible.)

REVERSE.

Col. E.

(Nothing whatever is left of this.)

Col. F.

(Portions of the initial syllables of about 9 lines only remain.)

Col. G.

(From line 19 of Col. C. to the first legible line (line 7) of this column the following portions of the *stela* text (Reverse) are omitted, namely, half of the last line of Col. XXIV, the whole of Cols. XXV, XXVI, XXVII, and the first 13 lines of Col. XXVIII, which omission is equivalent to $327\frac{1}{2}$ lines of the *stela*. It will be noticed that at the beginning, here, our text shows several variant readings.)

.

.

.

LINE.

7. *his army*8. *may*9. *his army*¹⁰

10. (?) (?)

11. *may (she) not grant*12. *that one,*13. *into*¹¹ *the hand of his enemy*14. *may (she) deliver him and*15. *to a hostile land*

LINE.

16. *bound may (she) bring him.*
 17. *The god Nergal,*
 18. *mighty among the gods,*
 19. *whose assault*¹²
 20. *cannot be withstood,*
 21. *who causes me to obtain my triumph,*
 22. *in his great strength*
 23. *like a curse*¹³
 24. (?)
 25. *a fir*[e¹⁴
 26. *his people*
 27. *with*

Col. H.

(The first line with legible signs in this our last column evidently coincides with line 82 of the final column of the *stela*, and as line 27 of Col. G. corresponds to line 35 it follows that 55 lines are here lost from our tablet.)

LINE.

1.
 2. *fat*]ally
 3. [*may he c*]urse him
 4. *a c*]urse
 5. *ir a-ta-an*¹⁵
 6. *the god B*]el with his mouth
 7. *altered*
 8. *cur*]se him and
 9. *sp*]eedily
 10. *may*] it come upon him.

COLOPHON.

- (1) 5 *legal-judgments*¹⁶
 (2) *of King*] *Hammurabi*
 (3) . . *not com*]plete
 (4) . . . (?) *written and revised*¹⁷
 (5) . . . **King**] **Ashshurbanipal**
 (6) . . . **of**] **Assyria.**

(*To be continued.*)

THE FOLKLORE OF MOSSOUL.

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, *M.A.**(Continued from Vol. XXVIII, page 109.)*

The following is the text and translation of the second of the two MSS. referred to in the first part of this Article. I am indebted to the Rev. G. Margoliouth, M.A., for many kind suggestions.

MS. No. 2.

(1) סגולה למיטתין במטה קח שער של גמל ותקטור על שתי זרועותיו
במקום הנחת תפלין ויהיה קטור כך כמה ימים ויתרפא וזה בדוק
ומנוסה י'.

(2) סגולה אחרת למיטתין במטה קח חתיכת בנד מן החלוק שיש בו
מי רגלים וישרוף אותו באש עד שיהיה אפר וישחוק אותו דק ויתן
אותו במים וישתה בכל פעם ויתרפא בע"ה והיא בדוק ומנוסה :

(3) לחולי העניים קח גרעין של זיתים וישרוף אותם היטיב באש וקח
אפר שלהם ותן האפר על העניים ויתרפא בע"ה וזה בדוק ומנוסה :

(4) סגולה להפיל שינה אם תשים שן של מת תחת מראשותיו של אדם
לא יקום מיטתו עד שתסירנו י'.

(5) לאישה הרר שיש לה כאב בבטנה תמישה אותו עם מרת צאן ויועיל
לה בעזר האל :

(6) לאהבה כתוב על קלף צבי בחצי היום כחום היום למי שתרצה יכתוב
בזעפרן ה' אלהי היטבעתי אתכם ועליכם בשם יוֹי וְיֹדֵי אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם
וארין יתעשור רצון פֶּבֶב בכל מה שירצה ותחישו לבו להתחנן בעפר
רגלי פֶּבֶב בשם בֹּוּיָה יֵלֶף יֶפֶת בֹּוֹס כֹּא אֵיִיד יֹאֵשׁ בְּלִי מִזֵּל זֶנֶא בִּזֵּ

שעות ביום ג' ויביא אותו לראשו ע"ב : [See Plate I, No. 1.]

(7) **עֵא** כתוב אלו השמות על כלי חרס חדש כתוב לאהבת בין פֶּבֶפּ לבין פֶּבֶפּ נפִישֵׁם בנפִישֵׁוֹ שֵׁל פֶּבֶפּ ויעִישוּ חפצוֹ ולא ידברו דבר שלא ברצונו בכח אלו השמות הכתובים כאן יִשְׁקֵא יקֹאֵל נעִמָן וְלֵב יִשְׁדִּי בִיד עֹזְקֵאל עֲנֹדוֹת יִירְפוּ לֵב פֶּבֶפּ באהבת פֶּבֶפּ עֵב :

(8) **עֵא** יקרא על המים וישתה לכל מי ישירצא אות־תִּיאֵל חסדִיאֵל יִכְרִיאֵל טִתִּיאֵל אֶת־יֵאֵל אֶת־וֹן מִלֵּאכִים תַּחֲפֹנֹן דֵּב פֶּבֶפּ יִשְׁאֵהֵב לִפְבֶּפּ ויעִשה רצונו וחפצוֹ שֵׁל פֶּבֶפּ.¹

(9) **עֵא** יכתוב על חרס חדש ותִשְׁלִיךְ אותו בתנור הם קוֹפֹדִי מִכְמֹר הֶרֶאוֹת אֶת בִּאוֹת קֶרֶהִין סְפִינִין פִּסְנֹדִין אֶת־וֹן מִלֵּאכִיִּי קְדוּשִׁיא רִבְרֵבא אֵעַ הֵיךְ מִתּוֹקֵד הֵאִי חֲסֵפֵא וְתִיר בְּנוֹרֵא כֵן קוֹתֵדוֹן בְּנוֹרֵא יֵת לֵב פֶּבֶפּ בְּתֵר פֶּבֶפּ בְּתֵר מִזְלִיה וְבִתֵּר הוֹדִי וְבִתֵּר חֲלָקִי וְלֹא יִישֵׁן וְלֹא יִדְמוֹךְ עַד זְמַן בִּיתִי בְּתֵרִי אֲנֵא פֶּבֶפּ ויעֲבֵד חֲפְצִי וְרַעוּתִי עֵב :

(10) **סגולה** לִשְׁנֵאָה אִם תִּרְצֶה לֵתֵת שְׁנֵאָה בֵּין אִישׁ זֶרַעְהוּ אוֹ בֵּין אִישׁ לֵאִשָּׁה קָח חוֹט שְׁלִמִישִׁי וְקִטּוֹר אוֹתוֹ כִּזֹּ קִטְרִים כִּנְגֵד כִּזֹּ אוֹתוֹת שֵׁל שֵׁם הַיְוִיָּה כִּה וְתֵאֵמֵר בִּישֵׁם אֵלֹו הַשְּׁמוֹת חֲזָקִים וְאִדִּירִים וּמֵאֲבָדִים אֶת הָעוֹלָם בִּישַׁעַת יְבוֹא מִשִּׁיחַ כֹּךְ פֶּבֶפּ שִׁינִיה וְיִהִיה מִשְׁוֹנִיה בְּנִבְיָיִי הִבְרִיִּךְ וַיַּחֲלִיף אֶת דְּבָרָיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֹו הַשְּׁמוֹת בִּישֵׁם אֲבֵנָה וְזִמָּה מוֹחֶסֶה אֲבָרִי דְנוֹה אֶפְקֹדוֹם מִכְסוֹם מִדְּוֹם שִׁמְשִׁיאֵל בְּרִקִּיאֵל יוֹפִיאֵל סְגִיאֵל סוֹרִיאֵל אֶרְמִיאֵל קִנְטִיאֵל רַפְטוֹם צִמְרֵבֵד אֲזֹבֹנֵא בִישֵׁם אֶרְאִרִיתֵא אִשֵּׁר אֶהִיָּה אֲדִיר בְּאִרְרִי גְדוֹלָה וּמִדְּוֹמָם עַל כָּל בְּרַכָּה וְתֵה וְבַעֲזָקְתִּיה רִבְתֵּא דַחַתְמוּ בִיה שִׁימוּ אֶהִיָּה וּבִישְׁמֵא דֵאלֵהֵא רֵבֵא וַיִּקְרֵא דַתְּאֲבִיר וְתַעֲבִיר מוֹמֵא בִישֵׁא וְרוֹנֹזֵא דֶארְגִּיז עַל פֶּרַעַה רִשִׁיעָאָה כִּשֵׁם שֶׁהִנִּידָה בְּזוּיָּה וּמִבּוֹסִיָּה וְשִׁנּוּאָה כֹךְ פֶּבֶפּ יִהִיה בְּזוּי וּמִנּוּדִיָּה וְשִׁנּוּי בְּעִינֵי הִבְרִיּוֹת עֵב תֵּם

(11) **סגולה** לְמִי שִׁמְתִים בְּנִי קִטְנִים יִגְבֵּה יִשְׁבַּעַת פְּרוֹטוֹת מִשְׁבַּעַת בְּנוֹת בְּתוּלוֹת ויעִשה חֲלָקָא אוֹ בִזְאֵם הֵם הַפְּרוֹטוֹת עֲצִמָם יַעֲשֶׂה בָהֶם לִזְכֹּר אוֹ לְנִקְבָּה וְבַעַת שְׁנוֹלֵד הֵילֵד אוֹ זֹכֵר אוֹ נִקְבָּה יִבִּיא אֲבִיהֶם וַיִּשִּׁים מִילְתוֹ בְּפִיו שֵׁל תִּינּוֹק קוֹדֵם שִׁינֵינֵק וְאִזִּי יִהִיה בַּעֲזֹרַת הָאֵל כֹּךְ קִבְּלָתִי וְבִדּוֹק.¹

(12) **לְמִי** שִׁרְצֶה שִׁיַּצֵּחַ בְּכָל עֵינָן אוֹ גַם כֵּן בְּכַתִּיבָה יִזְכּוֹר שְׁנֵי מִילוֹת כִּה פַעֲמִים וְאֵלֹו הֵן יִדִּיךְ עִשְׁוֹנִי.¹

¹ Thus the text, but perhaps read in accordance with the last line of the spell.

(13) **עוד** סגולה אחרת יאמר וזאת התורה אשר ישם מישה לפני בני ישראל: בני לפני מישה ישם אשר וזאת התורה: התורה וזאת אשר מישה לפני בני ישראל: בני לפני מישה ישם עד כאן:.

(14) **עא** יכתוב על הרס הדיש ותשלך אותו בתנור חם יכתוב יום ב או יום ד בשם הגדול הטחור בשם אסראל רפאל חוריאל מעפיאל אתדיאל בניאל עמניאל חוביאל צוריאל רמיאל עפאל סרפפאל עמיאל צפניאל ענמואל בלקיאל יטכביאל קומיאל יטפניאל ברקאל רעמואל ובקיש כל דבר יתרחצה ויפה לכל דבר עב:

(15) **להסיר** הפרעושים מן הבית תכתוב אלו השמות בכלי אחר ותמחה אותם במים ותזה אותם בתוך הבית וזה יתכתוב צהת שמיש ורבת עיש יבא אללי רמיש גם עופות ימלט אט ותפך משפט ולכל בכת בלאת חיצר חיצר אמנ נס תם

(16) **שאלת** חלום תכתוב ביום ראשון על ידו השמלית אלו השמות וישים ידו תחת ראשו ויניח וכל מה ישואל ישיבו לך בלילה כל שאלתו על האמת כמו ישאל בחלום וזה בדוק ומנוסה אבל צריך קדושה הרבה עב: [See Plate I, No. 2.]

(17) **לירע** אם החולה ימות או יחיה קח ביצה בת יומה ותשקול אותה ותתן אותה תחת מראשותיו של חולה כל הלילה ובבוקר תחזור ותשקול אותה פעם אחרת אם יחסר המיסקל הראשון דע שימות זה החולה ואם יעלה זה המיסקל יוה כמו המיסקל הראשון יתרפה החולה בעה עב:

(18) **קבללה** מעזרה בסכנת פחד להזכיר **נעורירן** וישם זו וישם של טפטיה הם יג אותיות ..

(19) **לרבות** כוח האדם לזיוג קח אבר חמור ובשל אותו הרבה והשליך בתוכו חטים עד שיתבשל ותן החטים לאכול לתרנגולים ושחוט אותם ואכול: בדוק

(20) **למקשה** לילד תשים קרן איל בתוך שניה ותתפישנו שעה אחת ומיד תלך בעה תם

(21) ^(a) **למקשה** לילד לעיין אותה בלבונה מתחתיה עד שיכנס בגופא העיין: ^(b) ענין אחר יקח צואה של סוס היבש ויערב ביין או במים ויתן לה ליטות בלי ידועתה ועים זה יצא הוולד אפלו מת ..

(c) ענין אחר יקח צואת עבברים הייבש ויתן לה לשתות בין או במים בלי ידועתה: (d) ענין אחר יקח מרה של יסור ויערב בין ויתן לה לשתות ויצא הוולד יי (e) ענין אחר כתוב אלו השמות על כלי חרס חדש ושים על טבורה ומיד כשיצא הוולד תסיר ממנה הכתיבה פן ירדו מעיה וזה השמות יכתוב על הכלי **חֹקֶה חֶרֶס צֶרֶם צֶרֶם**: (f) ענין אחר אפילו מת הוולד בטנה להוציא אותו כתוב אלו השמות על כלי חרס חדש ותלה עליה תורמסֶט יי: פתננֶס פתחטל יי:

(g) ענין אחר תן לה לשתות לובן ביצה ויערב עם הלב מאישה אחרת יי (h) ענין אחר יעמוד אצל המזוזה ויקרא הפטרת שופטים אנוכי אנוכי דגֹו ואחר כך יקרא וה פקד את ישרה בֶּפּ ויביון השם בניקוד צא אתה וכל העם ואחֶב יקרא הפטרה של רֶה יום אֶ (i) ענין אחר תן לה בידה קרן ימין של עז כשרוצה ללדת ותלד מיד יי:

(22) למחר הספינה בים כתוב בֶּלֶז רמאל העום להאם וילא הוהי רבֶריו השם לֶא ארְקִיא ותלה אותו בתוך הספינה ותלך לשלום עֵב:

(23) לִילֶד המת במעי אמו תשתה אוזב במים ויצא מיד.

(24) מי שרוצה שלא לבא לידו קרי בלילה יאמר גִּפ סֶנּוּ וְסִנְסֶפּוּ וְשִׁמְנֶגֶלֶק גִּפ

(25) לונאע ארכבא כוד נוד ערוק לפרפרא ודקחום מליה ובלטהום פי הליב אל עניא וסויהם לפיבה וכליהם עלא אל רבבא תלת אייאם יי:

(26) ללמחבא יכון יחבוננו ומא יטיקון יתכלמון וייאנו כתוב הארא אל שמות

בקלף צבי כישר בקדוּשָׁא ובטהרה ויכון יעלק ² נעליה . גִּזְלִמִּיט [See Plate I, No. 3] (27) לֶאֱהָבָה בן איש לאישתו כוד מאראת אל לבש וזית וללטהום ודהן ברות מילא שֶׁלוּ ויבוא אל האישה ותאהב אותו .

(28) אֶהָבָה כתב בנייר פי כיט אחמר וישרו אל כאנרֶה אל מכתוב בינו אל שמות ויכליהם פי וצט קרן אל ענו אקִינֶס אקִינֶס אֶמִיגֶד אֶמִיגֶד יי:

(29) לִשְׁנָאָה כתוב בביצא אלדי אכלתקת יום אל ארבעה ודפנא במר אלדי אנקתל נדיד וכתב עלא אל ביצא הדולי אל שמות חסדיאל . מִישָׁאֵל מֵאֲדִים מִטְרִיָּאֵל טוֹבִיָּאֵל יִשְׁמִעֵאל בִּשְׁם אלו השמות המלאכים תפרקו בין לִפְפָּ ובן פִּפֶּס ויישאנאו כישאנא אמנון ותמר וכישנא אתתול ועלבר יי:

² עליה Read.

(30) לִשְׁנָאָה בְּרוּקָה קַח יִשְׁעַר כֹּלֵב שְׁחֹר כְּלוּ וּשְׁוֹרְפִיּוֹ הַיִּשְׁעַר וּתְנַהּוּ לְמִי
 יִשְׁתַּרְצָא בְּמִים אוֹ בֵּין לְאִיִּט אוֹ לְאִשָּׁה וַיִּשְׁאֲנָאוּ זֶה אֶת זֶה וּכְתוּב
 זֶה הַקְּמִיעַ וּדְפְנָהּ פִּי וְצִט בֵּית הָהוּם כִּשְׁנָאָה שְׁהִיתָה בֶּן אֲבֵרָהּם וּבֶן
 אֲמֵרָפֶל וּבֶן פֶּרְעָה וּבֶן יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבֶן יַעֲקֹב וּלְבֶן וּבֶן יִשְׂרָאֵל לְסִיסְרָא
 וּבֶן הָרֵג לִיבִישָׁה כֵּן תִּתְּנוּ שְׁנָאָה בֶּן פֶּכֶפּ וּבֶן פֶּכֶפּ יִשָּׂאֵם תִּרְאָה אוֹתוֹ
 אֵהִיָּה בַעֲיָנָה וּבִלְבָּהּ כִּכְלָב שְׁחֹר וְלֹא תִסְתַּכֵּל בּוֹ כֹּלֵל אֵלָּא יֵהִיָּה בַעֲיָנָה
 וּבִלְבָּא מִיִּשְׁוֹקִין וּמִנְזוּעֵל בַּעֲדוֹת וּשְׁעָאֵל אֲנִס הַסָּא עִכּ

[See Plate I, fig. 4.]

(31) סְגוּלֹת הרבה מוֹעִיל זֶה הַיִּשְׁכָּךְ בַּעֲרֵבִי קוֹרִיִּין הִדְהָד . . עֵין אֵל יִמִּין
 מֵאֵל הִדְהָד אֵל יִשְׁלָא עֲנֵדוּ בּוֹנֵדוּ אֵל יִמִּין פִּי בּוֹקָא נְדִידִי וּיְדַכֵּל עֲנֵד
 מִן אֵלֵדִי יִרִיד בְּטֹלְעוֹ אֶחָד מֵא יִשׁוּפּוֹ וּבִדְכּוֹלוֹ הֵם אֶחָד מֵא יִשׁוּפּוֹ . .
 (32) בִּיעֲרָאֵבוּ אֵל הִדְהָד עֲלֵקוּ פִּי צִדְרוֹ אֵל יִכּוֹן בִּינוּ נֹזִית יִסְתַּעֲדֵל וּמִצְרָאן
 וְעֵינִין אֵל הִדְהָד אִסְקִיָּהֶם לֹאֵל בְּנָדָא תִסִּיר מִחֲבָא . .
 (33) אֲעִפִּירוּ אֵל הִדְהָד אֵן עֲלֵקְתֶּם עֲלָא אֵל וְלֵד לֹא יַעֲיִבוּ לֹא פֹאָ וְלֹא
 תִרָּה וְלֹא כּוּפָה וְלֹא יִתְגִּיֵּד לַחֲמוּ . .

TRANSLATION.

No. 1. *Prescription for an incontinent.*—Take the hair of a camel and bind it on his two arms, at the place where amulets are put, and let it be thus bound several days, and he shall be cured. And this is proved and certain.

No. 2. *Another prescription for an incontinent.*—Take a piece of cloth from the inner garments whereon there is urine, and let him burn it in fire until it becometh ashes, and let him pound it up small, and give it to him in water, and he shall drink it each time and be cured by God's help. And this is proved and certain.

No. 3. *For one that hath ophthalmia.*—Take olive-stones and burn them well in fire, and take their ashes, and put the ashes on the eyes and he will be cured by God's help. And this is proved and certain.

No. 4. *Prescription to bring on sleep.*—If thou putttest a dead man's tooth under a man's pillow, he will not rise from his sleep until thou removest it.

No. 5. *For a woman with child that hath a pain in her stomach.*—Thou shalt anoint it with sheep gall, and it will benefit her by God's help.

No. 6. *For love.*—Write on gazelle-skin about mid-day, when the day is hot, whomsoever thou wishest; let him write in saffron, "O Lord, my God, I adjure thee, and upon thee, in the name of Ywwy Wwyw, the god of heaven and earth, that thou shalt do the will of N., son of N., in all that he pleaseth, and that ye sway his heart to shew favour on the dust of the feet of N., son of N., in the name of Buyh Ylp Ypt Bus Ka Ayir Yas Bli Mizal Zga" at the sixteenth hour on the third day, and let him put it on his head (*see* Plate I, No. 1.)

No. 7. *Another.*—Write these names on a new vessel of pot; write "For love between N., the son of N., their souls with the soul of N., son of N., and they shall do his pleasure, and shall not say ought which is not according to his wish. By the might of these names written here, Šoka Ykal Na'man w'leb šedaw b'yad 'Uzkiel 'Anzroth, burn the heart of N., the son of N., with love for N., the son of N."

No. 8. *Another.*—Let him read over water and give it to drink to whomever he may desire—"Othothiel Ḥasdiel Ikriphiel Ṭathia Ithuriel—Ye Heavenly Powers, turn the heart of N., the son of N., that he may love N., the son of N., and may do the pleasure and will of N., the son of N."

No. 9. *Another.*—Let him write on a new potsherd and thou shalt cast it into a burning brazier, "Ḳophor Mkmr har'oth eth-baoth Ḳrhin Sphinin Pisgurn—Ye holy powerful Angels, I adjure you, just as this pot is burnt³ in the fire, so shall ye burn in fire the heart of N., son of N., (to follow) after N., son of N., after his fate, and my rule, and my portion, and he shall not sleep nor slumber until the time that he cometh after me, N., the son of N., and doth my pleasure and will."

No. 10. *A prescription for hatred.* If thou wishest to put hatred between a man and his friend or between a man and woman, take a thread of the *maš*-tree and tie twenty-six knots in it, according to the twenty-six letters in the name HWYH (so it is), and thou shalt say: "In the name of these powerful and mighty names that

³ The text here inserts וְתִיר which seems unnecessary.

will destroy the world at the time the Messiah cometh, so may N., son of N., be hated (?) and unnatural in the eyes of creation (?), and shall falsify his word; and he shall say these names: in the name of Abgh Wmh Muḥsh Abri Rnwh Aphḳorom Mksom Mrom Šamšiel Bereḳiel Yophiel Sagieli Suriel Armiei Kanṭiel Rphṭom Šmrkd Azbuga—in the name of Araritha Ašer Ehyeh Addir Bariri Gdola u-Mromem upon all blessing and under the Name (?), and by the great ring wherewith they seal his name I AM and by the great and precious name of God which destroyeth and worketh the evil and angry blemish wherewith he was angry against Pharaoh the godless, as a menstruous woman, despised, contemned, and hated, so may N., son of N., be despised, spurned, and hated in the eyes of creation.”

No. 11. *A prescription for one whose babes die.*—(Omitted.)

No. 12. *For one who wisheth to prosper in all business, also in writing.*—Let him repeat two words twenty-eight times; and these are they: “Thy Hands Made Me.”

No. 13. *Another prescription.*—Let him say, “And this is the law which Moses set before Israel.” (*The remainder of the spell consists of various inversions in the order of these words.*)

No. 14. *Another.*—Write on a new potsherd, and thou shalt cast it into a burning brazier. Write on the second or fourth day in the Great and Holy Name, in the name of Asrael Raphael Ḥurie. Maḥphiel Athriel Beniel Amniel Ḥubiel Šuriel Ramiel ‘Asael Sarsaphiel ‘Amiel Šaphniel ‘Agamuel Balḳiel Šakabiel Ḳumiel Šaphaṭiel Baraḳiel Raḥmuel and search out all that thou wisheth and it shall be well with everything.

No. 15. *To remove fleas from a house.*—Thou shalt write these names on a vessel, and wash them in water, and sprinkle it within the house. And this is what thou shalt write: “Šḥt Šmš Wrkt ‘Aš Yba Alli Rmš Gm ‘Upot Ymlṭ Aṭ Wtpk Mšṭṭ Wlkl Bkt Bkat Ḥṣr Ḥṣr Amen.”

No. 16. *Inquiry by a dream.*—Thou shalt write on the first day upon his left hand these names and he shall put his hand under his head and go to sleep; and everything that he asketh they shall bring thee in the night—all his request truthfully, according as he hath enquired in the dream. And this is proved and certain, but there is necessary great holiness (*see Plate I, No. 2*).

No. 17. *To know if a sick man will live or die.*—Take an egg one day old and weigh it, and put it under the pillow of the sick man all night, and in the morning take it back and weigh it again. If the first weight was less, know that the sick man will die; but if this weight proves equal to the first weight, the sick man will get well by God's help.

No. 18. A helping *Ḳabbālu* in the case of a fearful danger (is) to mention *N'wrin*, and this name and the name of *Ṭpṭia* are thirteen (*sic*) letters.

No. 19. *To increase the strength of a man for marriage.*—(Omitted.)

No. 20. *For one that laboureth hard in bearing.*—Thou shalt put a ram's horn between her teeth, and she shall take hold on it for one minute, and straightway she shall bring forth by God's help.

No. 21. (A) *For one that laboureth hard in bearing.*—To fumigate her with incense from underneath her, until she attract the smoke into (her) body.

(B) *Another method.*—Let him take dry horse-dung and mix it with wine, and give it to her to drink without knowing it, and thereupon the child will come forth, although dead.

(C) *Another method.*—Let him take dry mouse-dung and let him give it her to drink in wine or water without her knowing it.

(D) *Another method.*—Let him take ox-gall and let him mix it with wine, and give it her to drink, and the child will come forth.

(E) *Another method.*—Write these names on a new vessel of pot and put (it) on her navel, and immediately that the child cometh forth thou shalt remove the writing from her, lest her bowels fall; and these are the names which thou shalt write on the pot: "*Ḥoḵ Ḥrs Ṣom Ṣom.*"

(F) *Another method, although the child is dead (in) her womb, to bring it forth.*—Write these names on a new vessel of pot, and hang it on her: "*Tornst, Ptgnos, Pthtl.*"

(G) *Another method.*—Give her to drink the white of an egg and mix it with milk from another woman.

(H) *Another method*.—Let (one) stand at the side of the door-post and read the lesson from Judges, “I, I,” etc., and then let him read, “And the Lord visited Sarah,” twice, and he shall intend the name (to be read) with the pointing of, “Go forth thou and all the people,” and then let him read the lesson for the New Year, the first day.

(I) *Another method*.—Put into her hand a goat’s right horn when she is ready to bring forth, and she will bring forth straightway.

No. 22. *To hasten a boat on the sea*.—Write on a gazelle-skin, “Rmael H‘um Lham Wila Hohi Rbriu Hsm La Arkia,” and hang it up in the middle of the ship, and she will go in peace.

No. 23. *For a child that hath died in his mother’s loins*.—Let her drink hyssop in water and it will come forth straightway.

No. 24. Whoever wisheth that there shall not come to him the chance that cometh by night shall say, three times : “Seno w’Sansepho w’Samagglak” three times.

No. 25. *For a pain in the knees*.—Take a . . . of fibres of pepper(?) and pound them up well, and mix them in goat’s milk, and make them into a ball and leave them on the knee for three days.

No. 26. *For something hidden, that they may hide it and they shall not be able to say where it is*.—Write these names on a gazelle-skin, clean in holiness and purity, and let it be hung thereon. And this is what thou shalt write : (see Plate I, No. 3).

No. 27. *For love between a man and his wife*.—(Omitted.)

No. 28. *Love*.—Write on a strip of cloth¹ with red thread and bind it to a stone whereon is written the names, and put it in a goat’s horn : Aķinos Aķinos Amgd Amgd.

No. 29. *For hatred*.—Write on an egg which was laid on the fourth day and bury it in the grave of a man lately murdered, and write on the egg these names : Hasdiel Mišal Madim Maṭariel Tobiel Šma’el, by the mention of these names, ye angels shall divide between N., son of N., and N., son of N., and they shall hate each other as the hate of Ammon and Tamar, and as the hate of cat and mouse.

¹ Arabic قطن.

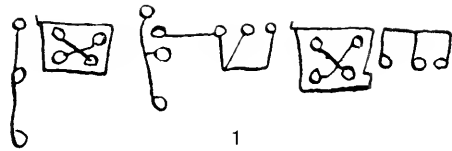
No. 30. *For hate* (proved). Take hair of a dog which is black all over, and burn the hair and give it to whomsoever thou wilt in water or wine, to man or woman, and they shall hate each other. And write this amulet, and bury it in the middle of their house. "Like the hate which was between Abraham and Amraphel, and between Pharaoh and Israel, and between Jacob and Laban, and between Israel and Sisera, and between fish and the dry land, so may ye put hatred between N., son of N., and N., daughter of N., that if she see him, I (*sic*) may be in her eyes and her heart as a black dog, and she shall not think of him at all except he be in her eyes and heart as abominable and foul, in root and beginning, . . ." (see Plate I, No. 4.)

No. 31.—*Several useful prescriptions; this is the selek-bird they call in Arabic "hoopoe."*—The right eye of the hoopoe, if he carry it with him on the right wrist in a new ring, he may enter (the house) of anyone he may please; when he goeth forth none shall see him, and also when he entereth none shall see him.

No. 31. *The intestines of the hoopoe.*—Hang it on his breast wherein is . . . and he will get well. The intestines and eye of the hoopoe, give them to drink in . . . and thou wilt become hidden.

No. 33. *The claws of the hoopoe.*—If thou hang them on a child, no fright nor terror nor fear shall assail him, nor shall he grow thin.

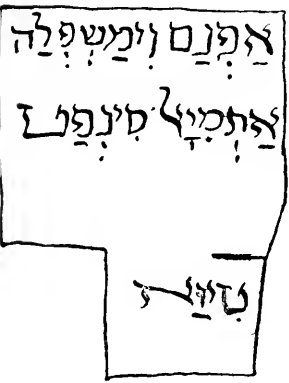
(*To be continued.*)



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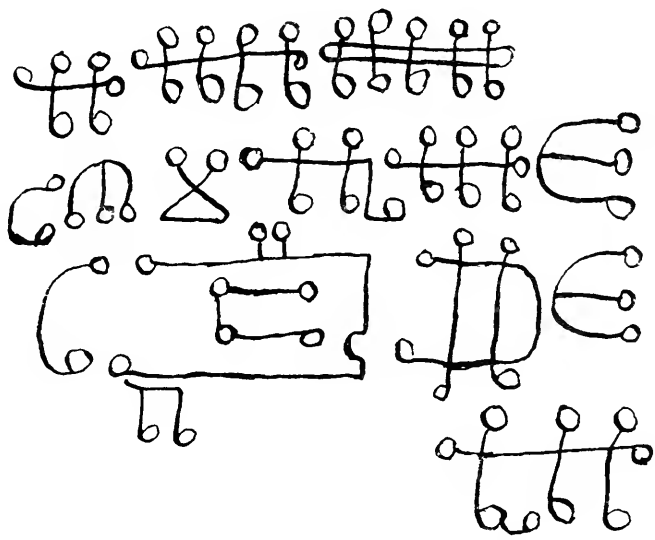
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5

NOTES ON SOME EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

I.

BY W. L. NASH, *F.S.A.*

PLATE I.

Three bronze "Standards"—the Mnevis bull, of Heliopolis, fig. 1; the Jackal, sacred to Anubis, fig. 2; and the Scorpion, sacred to Serquet, with the head of a woman, and wearing plumes, fig. 3; each mounted on a hollow, Lotus-headed, bronze staff intended to be attached to a wooden rod. These objects, which no doubt represent the Standards of the tribes, depicted on prehistoric pottery, were used down to very late times in certain ceremonies, such as those of the Sed festival. The Mnevis bull is the most commonly met with, the Jackal more rarely, and the Scorpion thus mounted is very rare indeed. *Mr. Hilton Price's Collection.*

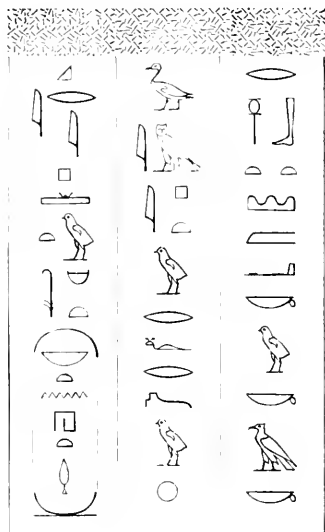
PLATE II.

I have only recently obtained the objects shown on this Plate.

(1) A fragment of a large bronze bowl, inscribed "Ra-men-kheperu, Tehutimes (*Thothmes IV*), beloved of Amen-Rā, within the house of Aa-kheperu-Ra (*Amenhetep II*) in Thebes." This house may have been either the small temple between the Pylons X and XI at Karnak, or the mortuary temple to the North of the Ramesseum.

(2) Fragment of an alabaster bowl or vase with the name of Aa-kheper-en-Ra, Tehutimes (*Thothmes II*). Beyond the second cartouche a small part of a third is visible, but there is not enough of it left to allow of its being read.

(3) The lower part of a Ushabti, made of a hard, almost black, crystalline stone, bearing the name of a Queen Neb-nehat. The inscription on the fragment is—



Nothing is known about this Queen. The only other known instance of her name is on a piece of a canopic jar in Lord Amherst of Hackney's collection, which was described and figured by Prof. Newberry in *S.B.A. Proceedings*, Vol. XXV (1903), p. 358.

(4) The upper half of a small plaque with rounded top, made of blue glazed faience, inscribed "Hathor, lady of Ant" (*Heliopolis*). Below is what is left of a figure of the Cow of Hathor, wearing plumes. This object came from the Temple of Neb-hapet-Ra, which has recently been excavated by Prof. Naville and Mr. Hall at the instance of the *Egypt Exploration Fund*.

(5) A small fragment of a votive plaque made of very hard blue glazed faience, with the name of Queen Amen Ardu, wife of Piankhÿ II.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

EGYPTIAN STANDARDS

In the Collection of F. G. Hilton Price, Esq.





FIG. 1.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

EGYPTIAN OBJECTS

In the Collection of W. L. Nash, Esq.



A MARRIAGE CONTRACT FROM THE CHABOUR.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, *M.A.*

It has long been known that the cuneiform method of writing was widely used beyond the limits of Babylonia, and much depends upon a recognition of the influence this method of writing must have exercised on civilizations not subject to the Babylonian rule. Professor Winckler's discoveries in the old Hittite capital, and the mysterious Cappadocian inscriptions, first made known in this Journal by Dr. Pinches, 1881, have made us aware that wedge writing was used far to the west; while De Morgan's excavations at Susa have opened out a new world for history in Elam to the east.

We know that the kingdom of Mitanni, whose kings corresponded in cuneiform with the king of Egypt in the Tell el Amarna letters, claimed a suzerainty over Nineveh, and everything relating to that kingdom is of weight for the early history of Mesopotamia. Somewhere north of Babylonia lay the kingdom of Ḫana, of which land we have a few monuments. It shared many features with Assyria and Mitanni. The homer as a measure of grain, answering to the *gur* in Babylonia, is found in the Bible, and is characteristic of Assyria and apparently of Mitanni also.

Of many texts, such as the Cappadocian tablets, we do not know the exact *provenance*; but as they increase in number we may hope to obtain clues to the locality in which they were written. The exploration of sites like Carchemish, or Harran, could probably solve many perplexing things in ancient history. Every little helps, however, and there is much already to work out.

The little text here published is unique in its way. I have no clue as to the place where it was found. It is written in a script

singularly like Assyrian. It is dated in the reign of Hammurabi, who may not be the same as the great Hammurabi, king of Babylonia, usually identified with Amraphel of Genesis xiv. It contains few names, but all except one are quite new. If it really belongs to the time of Hammurabi, it is dated in a hitherto unknown year of his reign. It gives a new month name. It reveals a new form of marriage contract. It has new words and forms of expression of interest for the student of language. Altogether one can rarely find more items of interest crammed into so small a space.

There are some features which suggest to me a connection with the tablets from Vÿran-shehir, of which one was published by Dr. Br. Meissner in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* for 1902, p. 246. This was found near Kerkuk, between Edessa and Mardin, which may well have lain in the district of Hana. There are likenesses also with the tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 246, published by Dr. Pinches in the second volume of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, 1896, p. 21, and commented upon by him in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1897, p. 589 ff. As Professor Hommel pointed out in the *Proceedings* for 1897, p. 80, this shows Hittite features and also affinities with the Mitanni folk. Presumably this tablet was found at Abu Habba, the ancient Sippara, and despite the very Assyrian looking characters, it undoubtedly dates from the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon: while the Vÿran Shehir tablet suggests a somewhat later date, possibly the Kassite period.

In 1897, Professor F. Thureau-Dangin published in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* (Vol. IV, no. 2) a tablet coming from Hana, a district of which a ruler, Tukulti-Mêr, was already known from a votive inscription found at Abou-Habba. It was also translated by him on page 85 of the *Revue*, and has been commented upon by our President (January 10th, 1899) in our *Proceedings*. It was drawn up in the style of one of the old Babylonian contracts, and embodied a deed of sale of a mansion, by the king of Hana to Abi-hunni, one of his subjects. Apart from the old Sumerian formulae, used just as in the Babylonian Tablets of the First Dynasty, it was written in Semitic, with notable variations, suggesting the Amorite affinities of the Hana people. The king was called Išarlim, with which our President has compared Israel; the final *m* being the so-called *minimation*, characteristic of the Hammurabi period, appearing also in our tablet. He was a son of Idin-kakka, which name suggested

to some scholars a god Kakka. The father of the buyer was called Kaki-Dagan, perhaps "Mace of Dagan," suggesting West-Semitic nationality. The oath was by Šamaš, Dagan, and Idur-mêr, Šamas and Dagan being both West Semitic gods as well as known in Babylonia at this time. The name Igitlim borne by the first witness, who was a *PA MARTU*, or "Scribe of the god Amurru," is compared with Joktiel.

The next witness was Idin-abu, the king's son; then Ili-ešuh, a name like Abi-ešuh, that of the 8th king of the First Dynasty, grandson of Hammurabi, also recalling Abi-shua, Joshua, possibly also Hosea. He was Chief Judge.

The next witness, *PA BIR-ŠÚ-BU-BU*, or scribe of the *pašišu* officials, bore a name Mašdi, or Bardi, which is not easy to affiliate.

Then came Iribu, quite a common Babylonian name, who seems to have been scribe of the goldsmiths. The next witness, Idin-Nani, son of Idin-Marduk, perhaps presents us with an early form Nani as the name of Ištar of Nineveh. Then Sin-ki-na, son of Amur-ša-Dagan, bears a name that might be West Semitic, as his father's certainly was.

Iazi-Dagan is certainly an Amorite name. He was an *ikaru*, properly "cultivator," or "farmer."

The next witness was Tûri-Dagan, a priest. The name shows the West Semitic form Tûri, seen in other Amorite names, which later appears as *sûri* in my *Harrañ Census*.

Šilli-Šamaš, "Shelter of Shamash," bears a name which can be pure Babylonian, and the fact that he was a scribe confirms this view.

It is dated on the 4th day of the month Teritu, which I have elsewhere attempted to identify with the so-called "Amorite Calendar," in the "year when Išarlim the king made the great gate of the palace of the city Kašdaḥ." This is quite in the style of the Babylonian year-names of the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, compare *Proceedings* for January 10th, 1899.

Our President would read the city name as Kašdaim, connecting it with Ur of the Chaldeans (Kashdim), the city Kasda of the Suté tribes.

The seal of Išarlim, repeated twice on the body of the tablet, for which a wide space was left, has a border as that on our tablet has. It reads "Išarlim, king of the land of Ḫana, son of Idin-Kakka, beloved of Shamash and Dagan."

The interest which this tablet from Hana has excited makes me think that the readers of the *Proceedings* will be glad to have another text clearly related to it. The tablet itself is in private possession, but the owner has generously allowed me to publish it.

TRANSCRIPTION.

(m.) Ki-ik-ki-nu mâr A-ba-ia
i-na bu-ul-ti-šú ši-im-ti . . . (f.) Bi-it-ti-(ilu) Da-gan
aššati-šú i-ši-mu

(m.) Ki-ik-ki-nu mût-za

5 (f.) Bi-it-ti-(ilu)-Da-gan aššat-zu
šum-ma (m.) Ki-ik-ki-nu mût-za
a-na (f.) Bi-it-ti-(ilu) Da-gan aššati-šú
ú-ul aššati-mi at-ti i-ka-ab-bi
ri-ku-zu i-na bîti-šú ú-ši

10 a-na alpê êkalli ta-tar-ḥu-šú
û šum-ma (f.) Bi-it-ti-(ilu) Da-gan aššat-zu
a-na Ki-ik-ki-ni mûtiša
ú-ul mûti-mi at-ta i-ka-ab-bi
e-ri-ši-ša ú-ši a-na bît ru-uk-ba-at

15 êkalli û-še-il-lu-ši
mâri (f.) Bi-it-ti-(ilu)-Da-gan
šá a-na Ki-ik-ki-ni mûti-ša u-ul-
zittu i-na bîti (m.) Ki-ik-ki-ni
i-ka-lu (m.) Ki-ik-ki-(nu?)

20 (m) Apil-(ilu) Adad-
a-na (f.) Bi-it-(ti-(ilu)-Da-gan)
ki . . .

.
.

REV. 25

da-ba-
niš ili û (šarri itmû)
maḥar Pa-gi-rum

[Space for Seals.]

arḥam Bi-ri-iš-ša-ar-ru ûm xvii (KAN)
30 šattu (m.) Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi-iḥ šarru

nâr Ha-bur-i-ba-al-bu-ga-aš
 iš-tu ali Zak-ku I-šar-li-im (KI)
 a-na ali Zak-ku I-gi-it-li-im (KI)
 ip-tu-ú

TRANSLATION.

- Kikkinu son of Abaia
 in full health the status of Bitti-Dagan
 his wife settled.*
Kikkinu is her husband,
 5 *Bitti-Dagan is his wife.*
If Kikkinu, her husband,
to Bitti-Dagan his wife,
shall say "Thou art not my wife";
he shall leave his house empty handed,
 10 *she shall consign him to the palace oxen :*
and if Bitti-Dagan, his wife,
to Kikkinu her husband,
shall say "Thou art not my husband" ;
she shall leave her bridegroom, to the
 15 *of the palace he shall devote her :*
the children of Bitti-Dagan
whom (she bore) to Kikkinu her husband,
shall enjoy a share in the house of
Kikkinu (their father). Kikkinu
 20 *. Apil-Adad*
to Bitti-Dagan
.
.
.
 25 *complaint.*
By god (and king they swore)
Before Pagirum

[Space for Seals.]

Month Birišarru, day 17th.

*Year that Hammurabi the king
opened the canal Habur-ibal-bugaš
from the city Zakku-Išarlim
to the city Zakku-Igitlim.*

NOTES.

The transaction may be called a marriage contract. In general scope it agrees with the marriage contracts of Babylonia in the time of the first dynasty of Babylon. It has, however, its own peculiarities which make it worth considering separately. It recalls the Code of Hammurabi, both in spirit and letter, but shows local custom.

The wedded pair bear names Kikkinu and Bitti-Dagan, which appear to be new. Abaia is obviously West-Semitic.

In line 2 the phrase *ina bultišu* reminds one of the phrase *ina šalmu u baltu*, common in Babylonian contracts of the period, on which see Meissner's *Altbabylonische Privatrecht*, p. 107. The sign after *šimti* is not easy to restore from its traces. It could be *im*, but one expects *šimtam*; *ša* is possible, but not at all certain. The *šimtu* of Bitti-Dagan was her "fate, lot, condition," here apparently her "position" as a married woman. This is pregnantly given in lines 4 and 5; "K. is B.'s husband, B. is K.'s wife." This is expanded by setting out the pains and penalties for repudiation of either by other. If the husband renounce his wife he forfeits his property. A verb *tarāhu* is entered in the lexicons without a meaning being assigned to it. It might be the Iftel of *arāhu*. Now *arāhu* is given as meaning "to determine, fix." Whether *tatarhu* is feminine singular 3rd person or 2nd person masculine seems uncertain, but the parallel in l. 15 suggests the former. She can consign him to the "palace oxen." What that means exactly is not clear. Whether he was to be turned to the beasts, or made to work with them, or whether they were to tear him in pieces, as seems to be the penalty for a different offence in the Code of Hammurabi, § 256, is not easy to decide from the expression in the text. It is remarkable that the penalty is not merely a money payment, as in the Code, § 138, but complete destitution.

In line 8 and again line 13, the suffix *-mi* seems to mean "my," usually expressed in Babylonian texts by *ia*; but *mi* may here be a variant of *-ma*, the enclitic particle of emphasis. Then *aššatī* and *mūtī* alone mean "my wife," "my husband."

In line 14, we find that the wife shall lose her *erīšu*. In this word we may see the usual word for bridegroom; but that seems inappropriate, and mere tautology. Her marriage portion seems much more appropriate, and we may suspect that *erīšu* also meant the marriage portion which she brought with her from her father's house. It may only be the *terḫatu*, or "bride-price," which the husband paid her father for her. What the *bitu rukbat* means is not clear. In contemporary documents we read of an *išu* (or *bitu*?) *rukbum*, which has been thought to be a chariot, or wagon. But *rakābu*, or *ragābu*, may mean something like "roofed," see Meissner, *Altbabylonische Privatrecht*, p. 9, note 3, on *ritgubu*. This does not throw much light on the penalty. Possibly it amounts to her becoming a palace slave, and the *bit rukbat* must then denote the residence of such slaves.

It is interesting to see that in case the wife was divorced, her children were not disinherited. At the end of line 17 one expects some part of the verb *alādu*, "to bear children."

What part Apil-Adad played is not clear. Perhaps he was the father of Bitti-Dagan. His name is perhaps West-Semitic. The one witness bears the name Pagirum, new to me. The name of the month Birišsarum also seems to be new. The date is very interesting. The spelling of Hammurabi with the rough breathing at the end is quite new, and I am not sure how we should account for it. As is well known, the Babylonian Chronicle of the First Dynasty, or the date lists, are defective. We do not yet know the year-names for the 36th, 37th, 39th, 40th, 41st, or 42nd year of Hammurabi's reign. We might therefore suppose that this new year-name belongs to one of these years. It is not quite certain, considering the strange month name, which seems to point to a foreign land, that this year-name was used in Babylonia. It appears to show that Hammurabi opened a canal (the expression is strikingly modern) from one city to another. The names of the cities remarkably recall the names in the Hana tablet. Išarlim, once king of Hana, appears to have given his name to one city, hence he was probably dead and the Hana tablet antedates Hammurabi, as one expected. The other city is named after Igitlim, who must have been a person of great importance, possibly a subsequent king of Hana. The name of the canal Habur-ibal-bugash suggests that it was connected with the river Habur, a northern affluent of the Euphrates. One of these two cities therefore lay on the Habur. What the canal name

means I do not know. Bugash is an element contained in Cassite names, and appears to be that of a divinity. The element *ibal* looks like a verb, but whether Semitic or Cassite is hard to say.

Full as the text is of novelties, which, in the absence of similar texts for comparison, merely suggest enquiry, it is not without its value. For all these new facts may come to fit into a system which will throw much light on the early history of the lands north of Babylonia. It is better to wait further information than to indulge in hasty conjectures now.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, June 12th, 1907, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Prof. A. H. Sayce (*President*).—"Hittite Inscriptions:
a Résumé with Proofs and Verifications."

LOWER EDGE. REVERSE.

30

REVERSE

25

REVERSE

20

REVERSE

15

REVERSE

OBVERSE.

10

OBVERSE

5

OBVERSE

OBVERSE

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION, 1907.

Fifth Meeting, June 12th, 1907.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.* (*President*),

IN THE CHAIR.

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author, Dr. Bruto Teloni.—“Pietre Incise Orientali del Museo di Perugia.”

From the Author, Dr. Oscar von Lemm.—“Koptische Miscellen,” I—XV.

From the Rev. W. T. Pilter.—“The Law of Hammurabi and Moses.” By H. Grimme. *Translated from the German by the donor.*

From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres.—“Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique,” Tome I.

From W. E. Crum, Esq.—“Scarab-shaped Seals” (*Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire*).

From Sir H. H. Howorth, *A.C.I.E.*—“Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum,” Parts XIV, XV, XVI.

BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The following donations have been received :—

June, 1907 :—

D. Paton, Esq.	...	...	...	...	£¹	1	0
J. Pollard, Esq.	...	...	...	...	1	1	0

A. W. Oke, Esq., *B.A., LL.M., etc.*,

was elected a Member of the Society.

The following Papers were read :—

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D. (President)*: “Hittite Inscriptions—a Résumé, with proofs and verifications.”

PROF. E. NAVILLE: “Egyptian writings in foundation walls, and the age of the Book of Deuteronomy.”

Thanks were returned for these communications.

BARŞAUMÂ THE NAKED.

BY W. E. CRUM.

(Continued from page 149.)

ARABIC TEXT—continued.

واعسر المتولى بعد ضربه باعتقاله ولما مضى الى الاعتقال حضر اليه جماعة من المعتقلين بعضهم كان يدعوا لهم بالانحلاص وبعضهم كتب لهم من مزاعمير داوود النبي⁶⁵ لواحد يستجيب لك الرب فى يوم شدتك بكما له ولاخر الرب نورى ومنخلصنى ممن اخاف الى اخرد فرسم لهم بالانحلاص من الاعتقال فى ذلك اليوم ولما كان الغد اخرجوا⁶⁶ القديس من الاعتقال (f. 37 a) ورسموا بخلاصه واقامته بدير شهران فمضى اليه وقام ايام قلائل واعماله منخفضة عن اعين الناس واختار له مسكن حقير بين القباب⁶⁷ فمكت فيه وهو مواظب الصلاة ليلا ونهارا الى ان صار كله نور وليس فيه شى من الظلمة وكان العدو يقتاتله بحب المال يقتاتله القديس بترك القنانيات⁶⁸ ويقول لنفسه انظرى الى عدوك الشيطان كيف ينصب لك اشراكه ويحبس⁶⁹ لك بحاجه⁷⁰ ويعرض عليك ساير شهواته قفى امامه وحاربيه كما يجب لانه يبغض كل من يعمل الصلاح والان

⁶⁵ Pss. xx, 1 ff., xxvii, 1 ff.⁶⁶ O اجروا.⁶⁷ O القباب.⁶⁸ P القنانيات (?)⁶⁹ O يحبس.⁷⁰ P فحاجه.

قوى وجاهديه جناد حسنا لتغلبيه وتذالى المجازاة عن الرب
عوض تعبك وان ابينا القديس دفع نفسه الى جناد عظيم واختار
المسكنة⁷¹ بالمقام بحوش المدير وظاهره في حر الصيف وبرد الشتاء
والجلوس على التراب والرقاد على الرمد وكان يغتدى بالحبز اليابس
والاطعمة الذى تفسد بالمتن والدود وبشرب من الماء المنزوع فى
الجوار بعد فسادد زمان كثير⁷² حتى ان نعمة الله تضاعفت عليه
(f. 37 b) وصار هيكلا ومسكنا لروح القدس وكان كلامه يخرج من فيه
بسلطان مثل الصيف القاطع ينفذ ويقطع لوقته حسب ما يستحق
ساعده وعجايبه ايضا ظهرت فى سائر البلاد بكلمة واحدة تخرج من
فيه المقدس

F وان ابانا القديس برصوما صار ممدوحا عن قبل الله والناس
باعماله النافعة وتعاليمه النافعة وشاع ذكره فى اقطار المسكونة وكان
كل احد يقول انسان عريان فى دير شبران يقال له برصوما كان
بدعوة الله ويأتى⁷³ اليه اناس كثير اخيار وشرار صالحين وطالحين
والجميع عندد فى كرامة واحدة البهليل والحقير الغنى والفقير وان
رئيس هذا المدير ورهبانه (f. 38 b) كمل لهم النرج والسرور باقامة
الاب بالمدير ومن كان ياتى اليه من المملوك والاعرا والوزرا والاجناد
والرؤساء وسائر الشعوب كان الرب سبحانه يكشف لهذا القديس
عن⁷⁴ اعمال كل واحد واحد^{sic} منهم وكان يعزبهم⁷⁵ ويصلتهم قايلا لهم
صلاة ايليا تكون حافظه لكم وتمضوا⁷⁶ الى منازلكم سالمين ومنهم
من كان يامر ان يدير وجهه نحو الشرق ويصلى ويعطيه كتاب

⁷¹ Read (?) المسكنة.

⁷² O كبير.

⁷³ ياتى P.

⁷⁴ O من.

⁷⁵ يقرى عليهم O.

⁷⁶ P ومضوا.

المزماعير والموقت يفعل ما اسرد الاب ويقدم⁷⁷ الى حين يقضى الرب حاجته يمضى بسلام وفي بعض الاحيان كان يحضر اليه من يقصد بركته ويعود سريعا فيجدد يصلى فلا يلتفت اليه لان عقله كان متصلا بالله ومنخاطبا له فيتجاسر عليه ويساله وهو فى صلاته فلا يكلمه وعند تمام صلاته فيجيبه قائلا له اذا كان الانسان واقف بين يدي الملك وهو يخاطبا له فيتترك الكلام معه ويرجع الى العيد^{sic} والصلاة فينبى الصلاة بالله والموقت يستغفر ذلك الرجل من الاب

G ومن امتاله التى⁷⁸ كان يتكلم بها الشيخ الاكرم والشيخ الاسعد وعمارة الكنيسة والحصن والزرب واحفظ⁷⁹ الخمس كراريس واصلم النقب والكسر واعطى فلوس الحقير ما احسن هدد الامتال التى كان ابينا القديس يقولهم وليس يريد تفسيدها لئلا يحصل له بذلك المعبد الباطل وفنخر هذا العالم

والان⁸⁰ اسمعوا يا اخوتى تفسير امتاله سحرعا على التوبة وعمارة النفوس الاكرم⁸¹ هو الله العظيم الكريم من وقف ببابه اعطاه بغير امتنان كما قال فى انجيله المقدس⁸² سلوا تعطوا اطلبوا تجدوا اقرعوا يفتح لكم والاسعد خيرات السما وسعاداتنا الابدية وعماراة الكنيسة معنى هذا ان تعمر قلبك بالطهارة والصلاة والصدقة والمحبة والحصن (f. 39 b) هو الايمان ان الانسان يؤمن ان الله هو الاب والابن وروح القدس ثلثة اقانيم له المعبد دايمان والزرب يعنى بيتا ارشم داتك بعلامة الصليب المقدس وتحصن على نفسك بالنفوس من الله واحفاظ الخمس كراريس معناد ان معفظ الخمس حواس

⁷⁷ O ويقوم.

⁷⁹ O والحفاظ.

⁸¹ O الاكروم

⁷⁸ O امتاله الذى P امتاله التى.

⁸⁰ What is underlined is in red.

⁸² Matt. vii, 7.

السمع والبصر الدوق والشم واللمس وإصلاح النقب يعنى به عن
 الشيطان لانه اللص الذى ياتى ليسرق فضائل النفس والكسر فيؤ
 كسر الهوى عن كل فعل ردى شرير⁸³ وإعطى فلوس التخثير هم
 الوصايا التى امر الرب محفظهم⁸⁴ فادا حفظهم الانسان وعمل بهم فان
 الملاك يرفعهم الى الله فى كل يوم ويصير حارس وخفيّر كذلك
 الانسان ما دام على الصالح فادا يوشح⁸⁵ وعمل ما لا ينبغى فان
 الملاك الذى اسماء ابيدنا برصوما العريان خفيّر يبعد عنه لاجل
 رائحة خطاياهم ويشكود الى الله فى كل يوم من اجل اعماله الرديّة،
 وهذا القديس جاهد فى معركة الايمان الصحيح وظفر باعدائه

H وكان ياتى الى هذا القديس خلق كثير من المرضى والاعلا
 ومن بهم اصناف الازواج المختلفة فيرشمهم بالزيت بعلاءة الصليب
 المقدس فزالوا الشفا لوقتيم ومنهم عن يشرب من ذلك الماء العنتن
 المدود الذى كان القديس يشرب منه فيبدا عما كان به ويعودوا الى
 منازلهم معافيين (f. 40 b) ومن كان فى شدة او ضايقة ياتى اليه
 ويساله زوالها يسال الرب سبحانه خلاصهم عن تلك الشدة فيخلصوا
 من غوايقهم واصحاب المتاجر والزراعات وارباب النخدم كانوا اذا
 اتوا اليه ويتصدود بايمان فى قضى حوائجهم فيصلى ابانا القديس
 وسال الله عن اجلهم فيكون لهم ما يريدوا والراكبين البر اذا لمحتهم
 ضايقة من اللصوص يطلبوا اليه فياتى اليهم ويخلصهم والراكبين البحر
 اذا هاج بهم فيذكروا اسم هذا القديس فينجيهم الرب عن الغرق
 وياتوا الى منازلهم سالمين غانمين وعجاييب هذا القديس والقوات
 التى اجراهم الله على يديه كثيرة جدا وسندكر اليسير منها ولما

⁸³ O om. فيؤ—شرير.

⁸⁴ O P (?) يحفظهم.

⁸⁵ P O يوشح.

اكمل هذا القديس سعيه الصالح باقامته على كيمان مدينة مصر
وفى بيعة الشنيد مرقوريوس بمصر مدة من السنين وبدير⁸⁶ شهران
سنة عشر سنة شاء الرب سبحانه ان ينقله من هذا العالم فنقله اليه
فى اليوم الخامس من النسي اخر سنة ثلاثة وثلاثين والف للشهداء
الاطيار رزقنا الرب بشفاعته امين * وهذا بعد ان علم المحبتمعين
حوله فى ذلك (f. 41 a) الوقت بتعاليم روحانية ووصايا عرضية
وكان القس يوحنا ابن الشيخ قد اضمهر فى نفسه فقد الناس من
تعاليمه فاجابه قايلًا من فمه الطاهر المملوك ما له غيبة ومن قال
يا برصوما ابن التبان قلت له نعم وقضيت حاجته عند السيد
المسيح وتطلع⁸⁷ الاب من يسارد وقال يا مولانا حاسبونا عما وجدوا لم
فى جهتنا حق لان جريدة المملوك عنددوة يوم بيوم تم تطلع
الى تلميذ ابراهيم الناسخ وقاله⁸⁸ يا شيخ الاسعد اعطينى سكين
اقطع بها هذا اللسان او مقص فقال له يا ابينا لسان يسبح الله
تقطع⁸⁹ وانه اخذ المقص وقطع طرف لسانه بيده وارعاد وبدا يتلوا
عن المزمور قايلًا الرب نورى ومخلصى ممن اخاف بكهاله وبعد ما
احسن وابهج الاخوة اذا سكنوا جميعا ورشم داته بعلامة الصليب
المقدس واسلم الروح وصعدت نفسه الكريمة المقدسة الى فردوس
الذعيم مع ملايكة النور وانتقل من اتعاب هذا العالم طوياد جاهد
العباد العظيم وفاز من يدعود ونال الذعيم الذى لا يتغير ولا يضمحل
(f. 41 b) الى الابدا وسكن حيث المسيح الذى احبه كما قال
بولس الرسول ذلك الموضع الذى لم ترد عين ولم سمع به اذن ولم
يخطر على قلب بشر ما اعز الله لاحبايه تم ان جماعة الرهبان
كثفود بتياب صوف نقية وحملود الى داخل الكنيسة بالدير وحضر

⁸⁶ Here the Coptic.⁸⁷ P2 om. to الروح.⁸⁸ Read له قال.⁸⁹ O يتقطع.

السيد البطريك انبا يونس المعروف بابن القديس الثمانون من
البطارقة وصحبته قسوس وشمامسة واكابر الاراضة بالمدينتين
وجماعة كثيرة من الشعب المسيحى وجنزود بكراثة عظيمة وحُمل
الى المقبرة بالدير قدام باب البديعة ودفن بجانب القس اسحاق
ابن قارورة رئيس الدير وكان فى ذلك اليوم بكاء ونوح فى
المدينتين والقرى التى حولهما عند ما سمعوا بفقد ابينا وسالوا
الله قائلين يا ربنا يسوع المسيح اله الرحمة والرافة اقم لنا معلما
صالحا ساهرا عن نفوسنا ليحرسنا عن الدياب الخاطفة ويسوسنا
بتعاليمه الروحانية فان لك ينبغى المجد والوقار والسجود والمكرامة
ولا يدرك الصالح والروح القدس الان وكل اوان والى داهر الداهرين
امين امين امين ❖

]ginnonastirion nngagios per pentase proune
(margin 15) agotow poi nos nne etrephotonq eboa
ginnokosnos agiton nnoq zensototot (margin 6) na-
notkotienon zennxok naaq zonnit nnotwo zen-
proune ntokatmanos (margin 17) gnoterhne nte
nnotte erenqenot etotab zone nshan : qo ❖
Паи пеннсапрефсво пенннннне етепнефкоте гннн-
свооте ннннфкон нннннголи етотав етранаг ннне
дтсо перепресвттерос тоганине пннре нгало еф-
лннн епате афете гнннефгнт атсо пехаг гпай нннтг
хсот петепнре нног нннсанефсвооте етнаноотот
афототов Пехаг паг poi ннннотгав ана парсона

(1 *b*) (εφχω *cancelled*) χεπζηδαλ υπεφβωκ ελλατ ησα αλλα
 οτον ηνι ετηαχοος χεω παρσω ηζηρε πρεφτωζ
 φηλοτωυβ παφ χεσε ταχωκ εβωλ υπεφαγνηα ζαζη-
 πενω̄ς ηνε̄ πεχ̄ς αφοτωτ ηεαζιζωτρ ηνωφ ποι
 πενειωτ ετοτααβ ηεχαφ χεω πενχωεε ατφιον ερον
 υποτο̄εηαατ̄ ζιεχων χευχαρτης ηζηδαλ εςχωκ εβωλ
 οτζωοτ ηννεαοτζωοτ Ητεηνωτ λε αφοτωτ ^{sic}υααβραζαν
 ηνωδορεος ηεφηαοετης ηεχαφ παφ χεω ηζαλο ηηα-
 καριος † ηαι εηοτο̄ορτε ιε οτ̄αμς ταυωωτ εβωλ
 ηηαλας ηεχαφ παφ χεω ηεηεκοτ ηαῡ εηζε εκυωτ εβωλ
 ηλας ετςνωτ εηηηωττε ηηεφςοτεη ηεωφ (2 *a*) αλλα
 αφχι η̄αμς⁹⁰ αφωωτ εβωλ ηοτκοτι ηηεφαας αφιωτχε
 ηνωφ ζιεχηηκαζ αφαρχει εφηηαετα ζηηεη̄αμης
 χεπο̄ςηε ηαοτο̄εηη ηηηᾱςωρ̄ εηηαρζοτε ζηηφ ηηηη
 υαηεφχωκ ατω οη χεεε ζηητε οηηεηηαηωτφ η⁹¹οτ-
 πεηηωτη ηεατρεζηςεηηωτ οτωζ ζηωτηα ηοτωτ υα-
 ηεφχωκ Ητεηνωτ αφςεηραηζε ηηεφςωηα ηηηη ηνωφ
 ζηηηαεηη ηηες̄φ̄ς ετοτααβ αφ ηηεη̄ηηα Δηαγτελος
 ηηηε̄ χι ηηεφ̄τ̄τ̄χη υαηηαηαμςος ητετρεφε αφηωωηε
 εβωλ ζηηηκοςμςος αφβωκ υαηεηταφηεηητφ ιε̄ ηε̄ςε
 αφαποατε ηηαηαοοη ετηηη εβωλ ετεηηεβαλ ηατ
 ερωοτ οτδε ηηεηααχε σοηηωτ ηηωτααε ζραι εχηηζηη
 ηηρςωε (2 *b*) ηαι ηταφςεβτωοτοτ ηοι ηηηε̄ ηηετηε
 ηνωφ Τοτε αηεςηηωτ ηηωηοχος ατκωςφ καμςος
 ζηηηζοττε ηςοητ ετ̄εβ̄ητ̄ ατχητφ εζοτ̄η ετεκκαηεα
 Δφει ηοι ηεηεκοτ ετοτααβ ηαρχηηεηεςκοηος αηα
 ιωζαηηηε ηετοτ̄ηωττε ερωφ χεηζηρε ηηζαμςος ηηεζ-

⁹⁰ Was ηεαμς.⁹¹ Was ιε, as above.

ϣτοοτ̃ πχοτ̃ωτ̃⁹² (*margin* π̃) ζηνενειοτε ιπατριαρχει
 πενζινιηγε ππρεσβυτερος πηγενδιακονος πενπαρ-
 χων εττασιντ̃ ιτετ̃λ̃ σεντε ατερζινβε γρα εχοϣ ατ̃τηο
 ιπποϣ ζηοτ̃ηοο̃ ιπασιο ατ̃χιτ̃ϣ ατ̃κααϣ ζηοτ̃ταβε
 ατ̃χιτ̃ϣ ιπταφος ετενιεντο εβολ ιππο (3 a) ιτεκκασια
 ζαζτενιενπρεσβυτερος ειαακ προειστος ιππονοστηρ-
 ιον αϣϣωπε ζηνεζοοτ̃ ετενιατ̃ οτ̃ηοο̃ ιατ̃ηε
 ιπποτ̃ριηε ιπποταυαζον ιππομ̃ς σεντε ιππτιηε ετε-
 νιενεκοτε ιππορ̃ωσ̃ωτ̃ι χε^{sic}σ̃ονενεικοτ̃ ετοτααβ ιππο
 ιπποϣ Δτ̃ηαπακαλει ιππ̃ε^{sic} χ̃ω ιππος χ̃ω πενχοε̃ς π̃ς
 πε̃χ̃ς π̃ς ιπ̃ατ̃ τ̃ ιαπ̃ ιοτ̃εαζ παλαος εϣϣαηα γρα
 εχ̃ον ατ̃ω πεϣαρεζ ερον εβολ ζηιοτ̃ωιηϣ πρεϣτορη
 Ηεϣρ̃ζενιηε ιπποη ζηνεϣεσ̃ωοτε ιπ̃π̃ατ̃κ̃ον (ζ̃ιτ̃ι *can-*
celled) απ̃ον δε ζ̃ον̃ ω̃ ιαπ̃ερατε ιαρενιπακαλει ιπ̃ος
 ιπποτ̃ε ιπ̃ατ̃τοκρατορ̃ ετρεϣκο⁹³ ιαπ̃ εβολ ιπ̃ιηοβε
 ιπ̃ιηενιαρατ̃τω̃α πεϣτ̃ οε ιαπ̃ ετρενειρε (3 b) ιζ̃ικαρ-
 πος ετ̃ιη̃ϣα ιπ̃ιεταποα ετρεποηιηε ιοτ̃ηα ιπποταη-
 ατ̃ε̃ς ζηνεζοοτ̃ ιτεκ̃ριε̃ς Ηεϣταλο̃ ιπ̃ετ̃ϣω̃ιηε
 ετ̃ζηνεϣαος πεϣχαρι̃δε πατ̃ ιπποτ̃χα ιϣκτο ιπ̃ενειοτε
 ιπ̃ιηεσ̃ιηοτ̃ ετ̃ϣω̃ον ζην̃ϣιηο ιπ̃ιηετ̃ζ̃ιχ̃ενοαλασσα
 επ̃ετ̃ηατ̃ϣω̃ιηε ζηοτ̃ε̃ριηε Ηεϣτ̃ ιπ̃ον ιπ̃ιενκοτε
 ιπ̃ιηεσ̃ιηοτ̃ ετατ̃ηκοτ̃κ̃ ατ̃ιπ̃ον ιπ̃ωοτ̃ ζ̃ιτ̃ιηε̃ς
 τ̃εω̃τ̃ον πεϣτ̃ι εβολ ζην̃ζο ιπ̃καζ̃ τ̃ιηϣ̃ πλοηος
 ιπ̃ιενκενος ιπ̃ιη̃ζ̃ω̃ιηε̃ς ιπ̃ετ̃η̃ε^{sic} π̃αχε πεϣκα ιτεϣε̃ι-
 ϣιηε ζ̃ιτ̃ιη̃ιηε ιπ̃εϣαος ιοτ̃οε̃ιη̃ ιπ̃ Ηεϣατ̃εν⁹⁴
 πεν̃ϣα ετρενε̃ω̃τε̃ν̃ ετεσ̃ιπ̃ ιπ̃ακαριον̃ τ̃ηεζ̃ ιρα̃ϣε

⁹² For this form of the numeral *v*. Piehl in *Aeg. Z.* xxxiii, 129.

⁹³ Was *χιο*.

⁹⁴ Note this Bohairic form.

95 Was NIAO-.

TRANSLATION—*continued*.

And after his beating, the governor bade bind him. And as he went to imprisonment, there came to him a number of them that were bound: and for some of them he would beg liberty, and for some write from the Psalms⁹⁶ of the Prophet David, for one (Ps. xx, 1 to its end), and for another (Ps. xxvii, 1 to its end); and liberty from imprisonment was decreed for them that day. And when the morrow was come, they brought the saint forth from prison and decreed his liberty and his place of abode in the monastery of Shahrân;⁹⁷ and thither he went. And he remained a few days, his doings being hid from the eyes of men. And he chose for himself a poor abode, between the domes,⁹⁸ and there he staid, zealous in prayer, night and day, until he had become all of light, and there was in him naught of darkness. And the Enemy contended against him by the love of riches, whilst the saint opposed him by the forsaking of possessions. And he said within himself: 'Behold thine enemy Satan, how he setteth for thee his nets and beguileth thee by his importunities and bringeth upon thee divers appetites. Stand thou against him and do battle with him as it is meet; for he hateth everyone that doeth right. And now arise and fight with him a good fight, so that thou conquer him and receive the reward from the Lord, in place of thy pains.' And our saintly father gave himself over unto a great fight, and he chose his dwelling in a place⁹⁹ in the court of the monastery and outside thereof, in the summer's heat and winter's cold, and by sitting in dust and sleeping upon ashes. And he fed himself with parched corn and food that was become bad with foulness and worms, and with drinking water that had been kept in jars, after that it had become foul a long while, till the grace of God was doubled upon him, and he became a temple and an abode for the Holy Spirit. And his words went forth from his mouth with

⁹⁶ As amulets. Brit. Mus. Copt. Catal., no. 32, and some ostraca might have been so used.

⁹⁷ The monastery at Ma'sara, between Turâ and Helwân. I. Casanova in *Bull. de l'Inst franç.* i, 174, where Abû Şâlih and Maḳrîzî are quoted. The latter calls it the mon. of Mercurius, but the former (f. 47b) says that it was the neighbouring Dair al-Faḥḥâr which was so dedicated. Maḳrîzî is supported, however, by Horner, *Boh. N. Test.* i, p. lxxxix, in a text written 11 years after Barṣauma's death. V. too the Coptic fragt. below.

⁹⁸ Presumably upon the roof of the building, though *ḡubbah* may be the canopy over the altar in the church.

⁹⁹ *Codd.* 'he chose poverty by abiding in the court.'

power, like to a dividing sword, cutting and penetrating forthwith, according to the needs of his hearer. And his miracles also were manifested in other lands by the word alone that went forth from his saintly mouth.¹⁰⁰]

Great was thy fight, O just and pure one and revered father, our father Barşaumâ the Naked, and many the deeds thou wroughtest ! And everyone beholding him, revered him for his righteous works. And his matter became known in the monastery, among the brethren the monks, and they glorified God, who giveth these excellent gifts unto His elect. And there was fulfilled in him the scripture (Joh. xiv, 12). And this father observed the evangelical commandments and made the Lord his hope. And when the Enemy made war upon him with all his weapons, he could not obtain power over him by reason of the might of the prayers which our father made, night and day, without ceasing. And it was so that everyone that came unto him of the Christian folk, asking of him a request unto the Lord (glory unto Him!), he had pity on them and was compassionate unto them, and the troubles which they suffered¹⁰¹ ceased from them. And the saintly father, Barşaumâ began to pray unto God (be He exalted !) with supplications and abundant tears, that the Lord would cause to cease from them these troubles. And the Lord hearkened to his entreaty and had pity upon them and caused to cease from them the troubles and destroyed him that was the cause thereof,¹⁰² through the prayers of our elect father, the very man of God, Anbâ Barşaumâ the Naked.

And now, O our saintly father, thy acts have been manifested and thy light hath shone for every man, even as our saintly fathers Antonius and Macarius, who wearied themselves for the love of God. For thou didst walk in their paths and didst follow their footsteps by thy good deeds. O this thing of wonder, namely, thy sanctity and purity and holiness, that were a crown upon thy head ! And all thy deeds do shine, even as the holy gospel saith : (Matt. v, 16).

¹⁰⁰ I. the Miracles, described below.

¹⁰¹ عما كانوا فيه من الصائقة.

¹⁰² من كان السبب فيها. Does this refer to the death of one of the persecuting sultans? The Florence *Synaxarium*, f. 192b has : ' And God slew him that would have slain them, with a terrible slaying, and he died and (God) cast him forth from the kingdom by a miracle (بمعجزة ? for بمعجز), in the sight of all men.'

F. And our saintly father Barṣaumâ was honoured by God and man for his virtuous works and his profitable teaching. And the knowledge of him spread abroad through the regions of the world; and every one would say^{102a}: 'There is a naked man in the monastery of Shahrân, called Barṣaumâ, that is perfect in God's grace.' And there came unto him many men, good and bad, righteous and wicked: and all were before him of equal worth, high and low, rich and poor. And as for the abbot of that monastery and its monks, their joy and happiness were full, through the father's sojourn in the monastery: and whosoever came thither, whether of kings or *amîrs* or *wazîrs* or soldiers or chiefs or the rest of the people, the Lord would reveal unto this saint the deeds of each one among them, and he would comfort them¹⁰³ and let them go, saying unto them: 'The prayer of Elias be your protection¹⁰⁴ and depart unto your dwellings safe and sound.' And someone among them he would bid turn his face to the east and would pray and would give him a writing from the Psalms¹⁰⁵; and straightway, in doing what the father bade him and persisting long therein, the Lord fulfilled his request and he would depart in peace. And at times there came unto him some one that desired his blessing and (wished to) return in haste. And he would find him (Barṣaumâ) praying, neither turned he about unto him, because that his mind was in commune with God and in converse with Him. But he (*sc.* the visitor) made bold and entreated him, and he (the while) in prayer; and he spake not unto him. And at the ending of his prayer, he answered him saying unto him: 'When a man standeth in presence of the king, and he converseth with him, yet will he leave talking with him and will return to divine service (?) and prayer;¹⁰⁶ for that is a prayer unto God.' And straightway that man asked pardon of the father.】 And our saintly father was a consolation and salvation unto all such as came unto him, and one to direct their sins unto repentance. And whoso was burdened with worldly filth and sins that are not fit to name, such he would receive gladly and would say unto them: 'O friends, all sins are forgiven after repentance.' And forthwith tears and contrition would over-

^{102a} Cf. a phrase in *Mission franç.* iv, 30, 31.

¹⁰³ O 'recite (the scriptures?) to them.'

¹⁰⁴ None of Elijah's prayers seems here appropriate. Perhaps 1 K. xviii, 36. Or may Elias here be the Moslim conception, confused with St. George and Al-Ujdr? (*v.* Lane, *Arab. Nights*, Introd., note 2.)

¹⁰⁵ As a protective charm; *v.* above.

¹⁰⁶ Or? 'to his wonted prayer.' *'id.* iii. 'festival.'

come them for what had befallen, and they would repent in that same hour and become even as them that had not sinned at all. And he used to say: 'When the faithful dieth, the Lord doth burn up his sins before him. And like as the sun, when he riseth in his heat, putteth away all mists, even so the divine mercy, when it ariseth, burneth up all sins.'

G. And of his parables,¹⁰⁷ wherein he spake, are *the Noble Elder, the Righteous Elder, the Building of the Church, the Fortress, the Bulwark, the Guarding of the Five Books, the Restoring of the Damaged, the Breaking, and the Giving of Money unto the Poor*. How beautiful are these parables wherein our saintly father spake and the interpretation whereof he desired not, lest there should come upon him vain glory and pride of this world.

And now hear, O my brethren, the interpretation of his parables,¹⁰⁸ which incite toward repentance and are the support of souls. *The Noble*: that is God, great and generous. Whoso standeth at His gate, to him He giveth without reproach, as He said in His holy gospel: (Mat. vii, 7). *The Righteous*: that is the good things of heaven and the everlasting joys thereof. *The Building of the Church* the meaning of this is that thou build up thy heart with holiness and prayer and charity and love. *The Fortress*: this is the faith, that a man believe that God is the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three Persons (unto Whom glory for ever!). And *the Bulwark*: thereby he meaneth the signing of thyself with the sign of the holy cross and that thou fortify thyself with the fear of God. And *the Guarding of the Five Books*: the meaning thereof is the guarding of the five senses, hearing and sight and taste and smell and touch. And *the Restoring of the Damaged*: thereby he intendeth Satan, for he is the thief that cometh to steal away the virtues of the soul. And *the Breaking*: that is the breaking of the desires from all bad and evil deeds. And *the Giving of Money unto the Poor*: these are the commandments which the Lord bade us observe. And if a man observe them and act thereby, the angel taketh them daily up to God and becometh (their) guardian and protector. Even thus a man, so long as he remain filthy and doing that which is not right, the angel whose name is our father Barşaumá the Naked, the guardian, departeth far from him, because of the stink of his sins; and he maketh complaint

¹⁰⁷ Perhaps the following are titles of Homilies. They are referred to in one of the Miracles.

¹⁰⁸ In P 2 the interpretations are more lengthy.

of him unto God, daily, by reason of his evil deeds. And this saint fought on the battle-field of the right faith and conquered his enemies.]

[*A paragraph in praise of Baršaumâ, quoting Mat. v, 48.*]

H. And there came unto this saint numbers of them that were sick and ill and of such as had divers diseases : and he signed them with oil, in the sign of the holy cross, and they got healing straightway. And there were some that drank of that foul and wormish water whereof the saint did drink, and were healed of that which was upon them, and returned home, restored in health. And some there were in distress or misfortune, that came to him and entreated him to put an end thereto, that he should entreat the Lord (glory unto Him!) for their salvation from that distress; and they were saved from out their misfortunes. And merchantmen and husbandmen and the masters of servants, when they came unto him and sought him in faith, for the deciding of their business, our saintly father prayed God on their behalf and there befell them what they desired. And travellers by land, when misfortune overtook them from robbers, besought him and he went unto them and saved them. And voyagers on the sea, if it arose against them and they called to mind the name of this saint, the Lord saved them from drowning and they returned to their homes with safety and possessions. And the wonders of this saint and the mighty works that God decreed at his hands, were very many, and we shall relate a few thereof.

And when this saint had completed his righteous course, in staying upon the rubbish-mounds of the town of Miṣr and in the church of St. Mercurius in Miṣr many years and [*Coptic begins here*] in the monastery (μοναστ.) of Saint (ἅγιος) Mercurius,¹⁰⁹ sixteen years, the Lord God willed to translate him from this world (κοσμ.) and he went to rest, upon the 5th day of the Added (ἐπαρόμενος) month, at the end of the year 1033 of Diocletian,¹¹⁰ in the peace (εἰρ.) of God.¹¹¹ May his holy blessing be with us.¹¹² Amen.

And he, after that he had taught the multitudes that were¹¹³ about him, in spiritual (πνευματικός) teachings and holy ordinances (ἐντολή), well-pleasing unto God,¹¹⁴ while the priest (πρεσβύτερος) John, son of the

¹⁰⁹ Ar. and in the monastery of Shahran.

¹¹⁰ Ar. of the pure Martyrs.

¹¹² Ar. The Lord grant us his intercession.

¹¹³ Ar. + at that time.

¹¹¹ Ar. om.

¹¹⁴ Ar. om. unto God.

Old Man,¹¹⁵ much grieving¹¹⁶ (λόπειν), reflected and said within himself: 'What shall we do, after his righteous teachings¹¹⁷?' the saintly Apa Parsôma answered and said unto him¹¹⁸: 'The servant went no whither.¹¹⁹ But (ἀλλά) everyone that shall say, O Parsô (*sic*), the straw-seller's son!, him will I answer, saying, 'Yea, I will¹²⁰ fulfil His desire (αἵτημα) before Our Lord Jesus Christ.' And our saintly father looked on his left hand and said: O sirs,¹²¹ we have been called to account and nought hath been found against us; for¹²² the servant's book (χάρτης) is filled in from day to day.' Then he looked toward Abraham, the notary (νοτάριος), his disciple (μαθητής), and said unto him: 'O blessed (μακάριος) elder, give me a knife or scissors (ψαλς), that I may cut out my tongue.' He said unto him: 'O our father, cuttest thou then out the tongue which blesseth God?' He hearkened not unto him,¹²³ (fol. 2 a) but (ἀλλά) took the scissors (ψ.) and cut out a little¹²⁴ of his tongue¹²⁵ and cast it upon the ground and began (ἄρχειν) to recite (μελετᾶν) from the Psalm (xxvii, 1) to its end, and also (cxxxiii, 1) to its end. Thereupon he himself signed (σφραγίζων) his body (σῶμα) with the sign of the holy cross (σταυρός) and gave up the ghost (πνεῦμα), and¹²⁶ the angels (ἄγγ.) of God took his soul (ψ.) to the paradise of joy (παράδεισος, τρυφή). He was translated from this¹²⁷ world (κόσμος) and went unto Him he loved, Jesus Christ, and enjoyed (ἀπολαύειν) the everlasting good things (ἀγαθόν), which eye hath not seen, etc. (1 Cor. ii, 9).

¹¹⁵ Ar. *b. ash-Shaih*, whereof Copt. would be a translation. Possibly this very man is 'John b. al-Mutamim, called b. ash-Shaih,' the cleric of this same monastery, who lived prior to A.D. 1332 (*Journ. As.*, X, 1897, 303). The Ethiopic has simply 'his disciple.'

¹¹⁶ Ar. om.

¹¹⁷ Ar. reflected upon the loss unto men of his teaching.

¹¹⁸ Ar. and he answered him, saying with his pure mouth.

¹¹⁹ Ar. There is no absence for the servant. Can this refer to absence of spirit, distraughtness, insensibility? *v.* Quatremère, *Sultans*, ii, II, p. 100. Ethiop. 'Know, O brother John, that I am not far from all that call me by my name. And every one that shall say &c.'

¹²⁰ On this elliptic conjunctive *v.* Erman, *Bruchst. kopt. Volkslitt.*, p. 13, note.

¹²¹ Ar. 'O, our lord'; but *maulânâ* must refer to his auditors.

¹²² Ar. + truly.

¹²³ Ar. om.

¹²⁴ Ar. the end.

¹²⁵ Ar. + with his hand.

¹²⁶ Ar. and his noble, saintly soul ascended unto the paradise of joy, with the angels of light, etc.

¹²⁷ Ar. the burdens of this world. Blessed is he, fighter of the great fight, etc., with 1 Cor. ii, as below.

Then (τότε) the monkish (μοναχός) brethren prepared him fairly (καλῶς) for burial, in pure woollen clothes, and brought him in unto the church (ἐκκλ.).¹²⁸ And our saintly father came, the archbishop¹²⁹ (ἀρχιεπ.) Apa John, that was called 'the Son of the Saint,'¹³⁰ the 80th of our fathers the patriarchs (πατρ.), with multitudes of priests and deacons and honoured notables (πρεσβ., ἱεκ., ἄρχων) of both cities (πόλεις)¹³¹; and¹³² they mourned for him and accompanied him with great honour and took him and laid him in a coffin and took him unto the tomb (τάφος) that is before the door (fol. 3 α) of the church (ἐκ.), beside the priest (πρ.) Isaak,¹³³ the prior of the monastery (πρωτοσπίς, μοναστ.) And there was, that day, great grief (λύπη) and weeping and groaning in the two cities (πόλ.)¹³⁴ and the villages that are round about them, when they¹³⁵ learned that our saintly father was gone to rest. And they besought (παρακαλεῖν) God, saying: 'O Our Lord Jesus Christ, merciful¹³⁶ God, give¹³⁷ unto us a righteous (ἀγαθός) teacher, that may pray for us¹³⁸ and preserve us from the ravenous wolves, and that may guide us by his spiritual (πνευματικός) teachings.'¹³⁹

But (ἐε) as for us, O my beloved, let us beseech (παρακαλεῖν) the Lord God Almighty, that He would forgive us our trespasses (παράπτωμα) and give us means to bring forth fruits (καρπ.) meet for repentance (μετάνοια), that we may find mercy and rest (ἀνάπαυσις) in the Day of Judgment (κρίσις); that He would heal the sick among His people and grant (χαρίζεω) them health; that He would bring

¹²⁸ Ar. + in the monastery.

¹²⁹ Ar. the lord patriarch.

¹³⁰ Ar. *Ibn al-Kiddīs*. This seems to be a name; cf. Horner, *op. cit.* iii, p. lx. 'Or does it indicate spiritual relationship to Baršaumā? This patriarch was buried at Dair Shahrān, where he had been a monk (Brit. Mus. Or. 849, f. 28b).

¹³¹ Ar. + and great multitudes of the Christian folk.

¹³² Ar. and they made his funeral with great honour and bore him to a tomb in the monastery, before the door.

¹³³ Ar. Ishak, son of Karurah.

¹³⁴ *I.e.* Fustāt and Cairo. The expression is found in the Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit (*Journ. As.*, 8^e sér. ix, 159; cf. Casanova, *Bull. de l'Inst. fr.*, i, 191) and often in Makrīzi (Quatremère, ii, II, pp. 5, 126, 174 &c.).

¹³⁵ Ar. heard the loss of.

¹³⁶ Ar. + and gracious.

¹³⁷ Ar. raise up.

¹³⁸ Ar. watch over us.

¹³⁹ The Copt. has been curtailed here. Ar. + For unto Thee is due glory and majesty and worship and honour and unto Thy good Father and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever, unto eternity. Amen (*sic ex pl.*).

back our brethren which are abroad and such as be upon the sea (θαλ.) unto their homes in peace (εἰρήνῃ); that He would give rest unto our fathers and our brethren that are fallen asleep and have gone to rest in the right faith (πίστις); that He would take from off the face of all the earth pestilence (λοιμός) and earthquake (σεισμός) and famine¹⁴⁰ and the sword of the enemy and would set His peace among His people (λαός) alway; that He would make us worthy to hear the blessed (μακάριος) voice, full of joy and consolation, saying: (Mat. xxv, 34) (fol. 4a); that He would bring us the (river's) waters of this year, in their measure and season (καιρός); that He would increase (ἀυξάνειν) the fruits (καρπ.) of the earth and would break in pieces the enemies of the Church (ἐκκλ.) and overthrow (καταλύνειν) their councils, even as (κατὰ) He did hinder (κωλύειν) the councils of Achitophel; that He would remember in His mercy every one that taketh thought for the offerings (προσφορά) and firstfruits (ἀπαρχή) and the oil and the reading-books, on this festival to-day; and that He would remember every one that hath said unto us: 'Remember us in the house of the Lord,' that He may remember them in His kingdom that is in heaven; and that He would tear up the writing (χειρόγραφον) of their iniquities; that He would write our name (added and their name) in the book of life and that He would bring us to the time of the year also that is to come, sound in body, soul and spirit (σῶμα, ψ., πν.); that He would preserve the life and the firm establishment of our most holy (ὑσιότατος) father, the wise, the chief father (πατήρ πατέρων), chief shepherd (ποιμήν ποιμένων), chief high-priest (ἄρχ. ἀρχιερέων), the father of orphans and judge of widows (τοῦ πατρός τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ κριτοῦ τῶν χηρῶν), he that fighteth well for the right faith (πίστις), even as Dioscorus, that did resist the enemies of the Church (ἐκ.) and as John Chrysostom, that was a light in his generation (γενεά) and overcame his enemies, and as Athanasius, the apostolic (ἀποστολικός), the pillar (στέλος) that gave light in the world (κόσμος), him in whom was fulfilled the word (*sic expl.*).

In P₂ Baršaumā's Life is followed (foll. 18b—71b) by 'a few of his Miracles.'¹⁴¹ They are 45 in number, are related in genuine story-

¹⁴⁰ Possibly a reference to the famine of 1294 and the earthquake of 1303.

¹⁴¹ They are also in P, fol. 42.

teller's style and, in several cases, are not without historical or social interest. Here, at any rate, there is no evidence of translation nor any need for assuming a Coptic original.

The largest group of stories tells of cures, effected mostly by something (oil, water &c.) blessed and sent by the saint. Among these, no. 5 relates to Šihyūn (Sion¹⁴²), from Minyat as-Sirāj¹⁴³; 9 to At-Tāj b. as-Sini, a dropsical scribe, bidden to eat melons and drink water, despite medical prohibition; 21 to a boy healed by water of cooked beans (*fūl*); 29 to Baybars¹⁴⁴ oculist (*ḥakīm kaḥḥāl*), cured of dropsy by boiled sulphur, oil and clay (*ṭaḥl*); 24 to Najīb b. Šadr, from Minshāt al-Muhrānī¹⁴⁵; 34 to a blind widow in Kaṣr al-Jam¹⁴⁶; 36 to his blind disciple, Gabriel the steward (*ḥaṭṭī*), cured by a cup (*ṣabḍiyah*) of lentils and 3 wheaten cakes (*arghiḥah*); 40 to Al-Wajih al-Iskandarī,¹⁴⁷ scribe to the amīr Itmish,¹⁴⁸ cured of fever by a thread (*ḥait*), tied on his arm, and the words: 'Baršaumā saith unto thee, Return not henceforth to this man'; 25 to a girl anointed with hedgehog's (*ḡunḡud*) blood,¹⁴⁹ the animal being subsequently brought to life again; 31 to Ya'qūb Kazzāz,¹⁵⁰ whose Muslim friend's daughter is healed by the blood of a female hedgehog (*ḡunḡudah*), procured in a garden near the 'Seven Wells,'¹⁵¹ and afterwards replaced in her hole, lest her young should perish; 37 to the present of pears (*kummatrā*) brought to B., but sent back with his blessing, to heal the donor; 39 to Al-Akram, of the household of the Chief Armourer (*amīr silāh*), who brought him corn, wax (candles) and incense, begging to be healed.

Other instances of B.'s benevolence are: no. 8, a field of the amīr Shams ad-Dīn rid of a plague of mice, after B. himself had

¹⁴² A common Coptic name, at least in one period and district; v. Brit. Mus. Catal. and Krall's *Recht. urk.*, s.v.

¹⁴³ Between Cairo and Shubrā; v. Casanova, *l.c.* 179.

¹⁴⁴ Baybars al-Jashmajir, *ib.* 1310.

¹⁴⁵ Opposite Raudah; v. Ravaisse in *Mission franç.* i, 417, Casanova in *Mém. Inst. franç.* iii, 308.

¹⁴⁶ Read ? ash-Sham'.

¹⁴⁷ I do not know whether this form can stand for Iskandarani 'Alexandrian.' If not, cf. the reading of O P2 (p. 149 above) for *antarius*. But the title 'scribe' should forbid this.

¹⁴⁸ Maḡrizī *Ḥiṭat* ii, 5:6 *inf.* (I owe references to Maḡrizī mostly to a valuable index drawn up by Mr. R. Guest.)

¹⁴⁹ On its uses, v. Ibn Beithar, *Not. et Extr.* xxvi, 117.

¹⁵⁰ Or 'the weaver,' though the article is wanting.

¹⁵¹ S.E. of the Lion Bridge; v. Salmon in *Mém. Inst. franç.* vii, 43.

sown it; 10, B. helps to restore the stolen money of a Maghraby stranger; 30, helps to trace a theft from Baybars' oculist, whose brother was a druggist (*'aṭṭār*) at the Bâb al-Futûḥ; 23, helps to trace strayed camels to the Tabbânâh.¹⁵² No. 16 tells how he drove off the devil, who had arisen in the form of an elephant, to frighten the monks; 19, how he appeared to a distant wayfarer and beat a snake that was terrifying him, his audience in the monastery the meanwhile seeing him beating the ground before them; 14, how he called on St. George and Mercurius, and so saved a man, though far out of his sight, from murder; 17, how a Muslim sailor, wrecked near Manfalût,¹⁵³ is directed by St. George¹⁵⁴ to B.'s monastery. In no. 11 he assists Sharif ad-Dîn with a petition to the Sultan, through the vizir (*ṣâḥib*) Amin ad-Dîn¹⁵⁵; in 41 he helps Shams (*sic*), a scribe of the weigh-house (*diwân al-kiyâlah*¹⁵⁶), to resist the extortions of the nâzir, Taḳî ad-Dîn; in 44 a miller from Sanhûr,¹⁵⁷ encouraged by B. against local oppression, is eventually righted by the ḳâdi, Karîm ad-Dîn aṣ-Ṣaghîr¹⁵⁸; in 42 a monk from the monastery of St. George at Damakrât,¹⁵⁹ after vainly endeavouring, each Monday and Thursday for 10 months, to reach the Citadel with a petition relating to monastic property (*riṣḳah*), at B.'s advice accosts the Sultan, on his way to the hippodrome (*maïdân*), and is sent to the stable (*iṣṭabîl*¹⁶⁰), where his request is attended to; in 43 B.'s advice leads to the settlement of a financial dispute between two partners in an oil-press, at Al-Maḥallah¹⁶¹ (one of the most interesting stories); in 27 he assists Shams Jabrîl (Gabriel), scribe of the treasury (*ḥazânah*).

His warning, in no. 18, sends an intending traveller back to

¹⁵² A street going between the Citadel and Bâb Zuwailah.

¹⁵³ N. of Siût.

¹⁵⁴ The Muslim calls him Abû Jurj. Cf. Lane, *Ar. Nights*, Introd., note 2.

¹⁵⁵ Vizir of An-Nâzir (Pseudo-ibn Ḥallikân in Brit. Mus. Or. 5320, 50a. Reference from Mr. A. G. Ellis).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. ? the *ḥuṣ al-kiyâlah* at Bûlaḳ, Maḳrîzî i. 89 *supra* = Bouriant in *Mission franç.* xvii, 253.

¹⁵⁷ In the N.W. Delta.

¹⁵⁸ K. ad-Dîn al-Kabîr is well known, but I cannot find aṣ-Ṣaghîr.

¹⁵⁹ S. of Esneh; v. Amélineau, *Géogr.* 507. Neither Abû Ṣâliḥ nor Maḳrîzî mention this monastery.

¹⁶⁰ I cannot find a government office so located.

¹⁶¹ Cannot be distinguished among the many place-names, specially in the Delta, formed with this.

help a friend's widow at the Bâb az-Zuhûmah¹⁶²; in 22 his advice to Ishâk b. ar-Rafî'ah directs him to Mişr, to the monastery of ar-Râisah Iskandarâh, called al-Anjadiyah,¹⁶³ where, at the *rab*¹⁶⁴ of al-Maşţûl,¹⁶⁴ an old man befriends him. In 45 his advice guides Waftah,¹⁶⁵ a fruitseller (*thammâr*), who visits him on the 25. Bâbah, A.D. 1312.

And other stories too are precisely dated. No. 15 tells how, on the very next day, the 26., a number of Frank merchants: Venetians, Genoese (*Janawî*), Navarrese (*Nabari*), Barcelonans (*Barshanawawî*), Catalans (*Kitalani*), Marseillaise (*Marshilî*), and Greeks (*Rûmî*), came, with their interpreters, to get B.'s blessing; how he read their thoughts and foretold their adventures, and how one of them invited him to accompany him to Rome, there 'to see Peter and Paul,' who would doubtless speak with so holy a man. 32 relates a visit, on the 13. Bashans, 1314, from the *silahdâr*, Saif ad-Din Kisbâi, whom B. exasperates by talking exclusively in parables¹⁶⁶ and declining to explain: while 35 tells how on the 11. Baramhât, 1315, the Sultan, just as B. had foretold, ordered the execution of a fanatical soldier who had been attempting by violence to enforce conversions. We learn, from no. 6, how, when sought out by the Sultan an-Nâzir himself, on his return from Karak, he begged for the opening of the remaining still closed churches. The Sultan wished to carry him off to the palace; but B. hid himself and foretold An-Nâzir's end. The sword-bearer¹⁶⁷ Baktemir too (no. 7) was so much influenced by B., that he acted only after consulting him: as, for instance, when the Sultan desired to appoint him his deputy (*naîb*).

This scanty analysis will, I think, show that a publication of the 'Miracles' might well contribute towards illustrating the interesting period in which Barşaumâ lived.

¹⁶² Somewhere near the mosque of al-Ashraf and the Khân Khalilî; *v.* Ravaisse, *l.c.* 435.

¹⁶³ *Râisah* may be 'abbess.' I cannot find any mention of this monastery.

¹⁶⁴ *Rab*¹⁶⁴, a 'tenement' or block of flats; *v.* De Sacy, '*Abd al-Latif* 402. I suppose the next to be the owner's name.

¹⁶⁵ Should be a Coptic name; but I cannot identify it.

¹⁶⁶ *l.* above, p. 199.

¹⁶⁷ جاندگر.








HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

THE METHOD, VERIFICATION, AND RESULTS
OF MY DECIPHERMENT OF THEM.BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*

I have been asked to give an account, which shall be as short and clear as possible, of my decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphic texts, the initial stage of which I laid before this Society four years ago. Since then, with the accumulation of fresh materials, and more especially the acquisition of more accurate copies of the texts that were already known, I have made considerable progress in the task of decipherment, correcting erroneous values and conclusions, adding to our knowledge of the Hittite syllabary, grammar and vocabulary, and verifying the results previously obtained. Each successive step in advance is recorded in the past numbers of the *Proceedings* of the Society, but I cannot expect other scholars to follow me through the maze of modified or corrected readings which pioneering work necessitates. Hence in the present Paper I propose to give a *résumé* of the whole system of decipherment, its basis, development, verification, and results.

The chief difficulty against which I have had to contend has been the imperfection of the materials. The inscriptions we possess are not only few in number, but most of them are fragmentary, several are but partly legible, and others are only known to us by inaccurate copies. Even where we have good casts or squeezes it is not always easy to distinguish characters which resemble one another, and more than once the progress of decipherment has shown that I have been led astray by identifying two characters that were really distinct. Above all, the inscriptions are of different ages and localities, and though this did not matter much in the earlier stages of decipherment, owing to the fact that the language of the script is pretty much the same whatever be the date or geography of the inscription, it matters a good deal now when I am endeavouring to determine the precise vowel sounds of the words represented in them.

Whatever might have been the case with the consonants, the pronunciation of the vowels differed at different times and in different places. If only we had a score of unmutilated inscriptions from Carchemish, the decipherment of the texts would be in a far more advanced condition than is the case to-day.

When, after twenty years of baffled efforts, I at last found the key to the Hittite problem, there were already certain facts known and recognized. Dr. HAYES WARD had shown that the inscriptions were to be read in *boustrophedon* fashion, and in the direction towards which the animals' heads looked, and that certain characters or groups of characters represented grammatical suffixes. I had discovered the ideograph which denotes deity and the suffix of the nominative case of the noun , together with its phonetic value *s*. I had also shown that  must represent a vowel, and HALÉVY had done the same for , while the inscription of Ibriz had made it clear that the god, whose native Cilician name had been proved by EDUARD MEYER to be Sandes, was denoted by the picture of a serpent. PEISER had pointed out that in the later texts  was used to divide the words from one another, and LEOPOLD MESSERSCHMIDT that  denoted the demonstrative pronoun. Moreover, in 1880 I had brought to light the bilingual inscription on the seal of Tarkondêmos, which gave us the phonetic value of one character  *me*, and, in combination with other texts, the meaning of the ideographs for "king" and "country." Unfortunately, in other respects this inscription proved to be misleading; in fact, before the decipherment of the texts a correct analysis of the whole of it was impossible. It is only the decipherment which has shown us that  is not a phonetic character but the ideograph of "city," that the oblique stroke after the character *me* represents the vowel *ü*, and that the cuneiform transcript is in the Hittite language, so that the word with which the inscription terminates is the Hittite *me-e*, "I am."¹

Misled also by the faulty copies of the Hamath inscriptions, I had confused the ideographs of "king" and "district" together—an error in which I was followed by all the other scholars who attempted to solve the Hittite problem. It was not until good casts and, in


Me-e is given as the equivalent of the Hittite *me-ü*, which is written *me-i* in the older texts. Cp. the variants Lubarna and Libarna. *ü* is expressed by the oblique stroke, *ü* by the hook.

some cases, the original inscriptions themselves, had revealed the true forms of the characters that the error could be corrected, and therewith the phonetic decipherment of the texts made possible. For when once the determinative of "district" was found, we knew where to look for the geographical names, through which alone we could hope to arrive at the phonetic values of the characters. The first-fruits of the discovery of the determinative of "district" was the certainty that in a particular group of characters we had the name of Carchemish.





Many years ago the Dutch numismatist, M. SIX, had suggested to me that such was the case. I imagine that what led him to make the suggestion was the fact that the group occurs, with one exception, only in the inscriptions from Jerablûs² or Carchemish, and that it is found in them in a prominent position. But the confusion of the determinative of "district" with that of "king," and the belief that the seal of Tarkondêmos obliged us to assign the phonetic value of *tarku* to the goat's head, led me to reject M. SIX's suggestion. With more wisdom Prof. JENSEN adopted it, and further, correctly maintained that the name of Carchemish is found under a different spelling in an inscription on a bowl from Babylon. Unfortunately, other and unfounded assumptions prevented JENSEN's discovery of the latter fact from bearing fruit, and even caused him to take the retrograde step of supposing the determinative of "divinity" to be that of "a town."



Meanwhile I had been devoting myself to the endeavour to ascertain what the pictorial Hittite ideographs originally represented,


² Jerablûs (Hierapolis), not Jerabis, is the correct form of the name. Jerabis originated with Pococke, who made a hasty tourist's visit to the district and did not speak Arabic. Alexander Drummond, who was British Consul at the time at Aleppo, who spoke Arabic, and was interested in antiquities, knows only Jerablûs. So also did Skene, who, like Drummond, was Consul at Aleppo, and was the first to identify the site with that of Carchemish. Sir Charles Wilson assured me that none of the natives he had questioned knew any other form of the name than Jerablûs. According to Mr. Boscawen, Jerabis is the Turkish deformation of Jerablûs; but when Dr. Trowbridge was head of the American College at Aintab, I asked him to enquire of his converts, one of whom had property on the spot, what was the actual name of the place. The reply was: "The only name known is Jerablûs." I take this opportunity of mentioning that the mutilated figure from Carchemish, now in the British Museum, with a Hittite inscription on the back (Messerschmidt XI), was already seen and figured by Drummond, who believed it to represent a Christian ecclesiastic (*Travels* (1754), p. 197, No. 15). In Drummond's time it was in precisely the same condition as to-day.

and to obtaining accurate facsimiles of them : while in 1899, in the *Proceedings* of this Society, I suggested that the word accompanying the head of a high-priest in the Carchemish texts should be read *aba-ka-li-s*, *abaklès* (*bakêlos* in Hesychius) being given by Strabo as the Cappadocian word for "high-priest." I thus obtained the phonetic value of *ka* for the rabbit's head, .

When at last the determinative of "district" became known, there could no longer be any hesitation about accepting M. Six's suggestion. The determinative was attached in the Carchemish texts precisely to that group of characters in which he had divined the name of the city. And the group in its simplest form consists of






the four hieroglyphs    . The last character, the

goat's head, had already been shown by the Mer'ash Lion inscription to have the phonetic value of *s* in addition to its ideographic value of *tarku*, since it there takes the place of  in the nominative of the noun : we knew from the seal of Tarkondêmos that  had the




value of *me*, and I had found for  the value of *ka*. The first character is met with only in this particular group of characters, nowhere else : hence it was probable that it represented a closed and not an open syllable. There could no longer, therefore, be any doubt on the matter ; the four characters really represented the name of Carchemish, phonetically spelt out, and the decipherment of the Hittite texts was at last made possible.


That the name of Carchemish should be phonetically spelt is due to the happy accident of its having been of Semitic origin. When an attempt was afterwards made to give it a Hittite form, the name which probably signified "the Wall of Chemosh" was changed into Kamissa, "the gate-city," and expressed by the ideograph of a two-leaved gate.








By the side of Carchemish we find also an adjectival form of the name, as is shown by the fact that the case-suffixes attached to it are the same as those attached to the substantives ("high-priest," &c.) with which it is coupled. Now an examination of the Hittite geographical names preserved in the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions had indicated that the suffixes belonging to them are *-na-s*, *-si-s*, and *-wa-s* or *-u-s*. For reasons to be stated presently, the first two

suffixes were excluded in the case of the word which denotes "Carchemishian," and hence I provisionally gave the characters composing it the values of *Kar-ka-me-si-yas*. As the last character interchanges with   , it followed that  was *y^a*. The progress of the decipherment has verified the general accuracy of my conclusions, though instead of *y^a* the true value of  is *uas* and *uis* (also *us*), and that of  is *ui*, less usually *ua*.³



³ That  was *ui* is shown by ARDISTAMA I, 6, where the first person sing.



of the verb *kiu*, or *ku* is written *ka-i-* (boot), the buskin set on its back taking the place of the ordinary boot, as in all the early Asianic texts. Hence the first person was *ui*, not *ua*, and we can consequently explain the hitherto enigmatical *uis-na-ü-i* (M. XXXIII, 4.), "I have constructed." This means that *ua* is here to be read *üi*. Now, also, we can understand why the demonstrative is written *ua-is-a* (M. XVI, A), and *ua-üi-mi-a*, i.e., *uimä* (M. XI, 4.), or why *San-du-ua* interchanges with *San-du-üi-i*. The word for "wine" will accordingly be *ui-nu-u(u)* (M. XXXII, 4), corresponding with the Greek *οἶνον* and the Asianic town of *Οῦνάδος*, and indicating that the name of the sacred tree of the Hittites was *uin* as well as that  had the value of *uin* by the side of that of *uan*. It would thus appear that the Indo-European (and Semitic) word for "wine" was of Hittite origin. Since  was *ui*, it follows that  was *uis* as well as *uas*.



A comparison of the words *San-du-uas-uan* and *Uan-nu-mis-ua* further shows that we must read *San-du-uis-uin* (or *uan*) and *Uan-nu-uis-üi*, so that  will have the value of *uis*, not of *mis*. This is verified by forms like *Kätu-üi-i-is*, where the formative syllable is expressed by the boot (which has the ideographic value of *ammi*, but not of *mi*), the boot being the ideograph of "the earth." Now we can understand how the demonstrative *uissü* can be written



     *ui-UI-SU-uis-ü* in M. VI, 4.  is the closed hand flicking away a "thing" (*ua*) and is merely a variant of  , which therefore has the same value, *uis*.

It follows from this correction of values that, in the Karaburna inscription (M. XLVI, 1), there is no mention of the Moschians. The reading and translation should be: *Si-na-s atu-uis Si-na-s-mi-a na-is-s 1D-u-is nu-is mü na-nas-üi uis-gha-uis a-missu üi ammi uis-gha-üi i-uis-is-PL*. "I, Sinas the king, of the Sinasians the prince, the . . . priest, have occupied the place, erecting the cities of this land I have erected the high places." The verbal formative in *uisghui's* and *uisghui* is found again in the cuneiform tablets where it is represented by *-khu*. In M. XXI, 6, the word I have left untranslated in my Paper on the Inscriptions will thus be *uis-uis (a-uis)* "building (cities)"; *auü* means "city" as well as *ami*).








The common suffix of geographical names, however, according to the Assyrian inscriptions, was *-na-s*, and one of the two Tel el-Amarna letters in the Arzawan language, which the cuneiform tablets found at Boghaz Keui had already shown to have been that of the Hittites, gives *sarrus Khattannas* for "Hittite king." The suffix, in fact, signified, "of the land of," as it does also in Vannic. Now in the Hamath and Mer'ash inscriptions there were certain words which seemed to denote territorial titles, and which were formed by means of the suffix . This latter character sometimes interchanges with the "sleeve" , and to this I had already been led to assign the value of *n* for the following reason:—



The nominative of the Arzawan noun terminates in *-s* and the accusative in *-n*, like the nominative and accusative of the Mitannian and Vannic nouns, and since the nominative in the Hittite hieroglyphic texts is characterized by *-s*, it was reasonable to suppose that the accusative would be characterized by *-n*. On the bowl we have a picture of a bowl provided with the suffix  and followed by what other inscriptions indicated was probably the first person of a verb. It seemed therefore probable that  had the value of *n*.








I have already stated that I had long since pointed out that  must be a vowel, not only from its frequency, but also from the fact that it could be inserted or omitted at pleasure, and that HALÉVY had done the same for . Now came the question as to what vowels

were represented by these two characters. This was settled for  by the name Carchemish, which is once written with this character inserted after the syllable *me*; it must consequently be *e* or *i*. The suffix *-na*, if rightly read, similarly showed that  had the value of *a*.

I had now obtained a certain number of values: the next point was to test and extend them. I turned accordingly to the inscription from Tyana, the ancient name of which we knew. Here the geographical title attached to the name of the priest-king is

      , in which the value of the first character only was unknown to me. The text read: *-a-n-a-na-s* + DETERMINATIVE, *-nas* being the suffix denoting "of the land of." It was therefore evident (1) that we had here the name of Tyana, (2) that the first character had the value of *tu*, and (3) that the

values I had assigned to the other characters were correct. Subsequent research has verified these conclusions with two slight modifications:  is *uan*, not simple *u*, and  is *tua*, though it is also used phonetically for *tu*.

The Hamath inscriptions were next questioned. These contained a number of geographical names, in one of which I had long since conjectured we should see the national name of "Hittite," partly because of its occurrence, not only at Hamath, but also at Carchemish, Mer'ash, and Izgin. In one of the forms of the name the depressed hand  is inscribed after the ideographic *Khatta* or *Khattu* (supposing, that is to say, that my conjectural reading of the ideograph was correct): hence I inferred that it represented the syllable *tu*. The conclusion has since been confirmed by my finding the name written *Kha-ta* instead of *Khat-ta*. Among the names, however, in the Hamath texts the name of Hamath itself ought to occur, and the Assyrian inscriptions had shown us that this would be met with under the form of *A-mat-ti* or *A-ma-ti*.⁴ But the first geographical name in three of the Hamath texts begins with *i*, not *a*, so could not be "Hamath." It is followed by what a comparison of the seal of Tarkondêmos with the other texts had already led me to believe was the ideograph of "city." It is the picture of a plough, and, as I now know, properly signifies "the cultivated soil" (*amma*), but is also used to denote "city," possibly through being confused with another ideograph of similar shape which signifies "a gate." The characters which follow the ideograph of "city" gave me the name of Hamath. The values of the first two were known to me already. The first, the doll , I had found interchanging with *a*; the second, the seat , has the phonetic exponent  attached to it in one of the Hamath texts (where the place of  is taken by , which interchanges with *a* in the common word *amei*, "I am"), and the value of  was known, approximately, from its being substituted for *me* in the name of Carchemish.

(*To be continued.*)

⁴ The Semitic *חמת* must have been pronounced in this way by its Hittite conquerors, from whom the Assyrians derived their form of the name. I have long ago suggested that Gar-imerisu for Damascus was of Hittite derivation.

THE EXODUS OF THE HEBREWS.

BY PROF. J. LIEBLEIN.

I beg to refer my readers to a former Article of mine, published in these *Proceedings*,¹ in which I endeavoured to establish the opinion, I long ago expressed, that the Israelites, under the leadership of Moses, emigrated from Egypt during the latter part of the reign of Amenhetep III. I propose now to discuss the publications of Prof. PETRIE and Prof. SPIEGELBERG, in which they have dealt with the same subject in relation to the triumphal stele of Merenptah discovered by Prof. PETRIE in January, 1896. Both these writers suppose that the Exodus took place during the reign of Merenptah, a supposition which is in fact generally accepted, but which is, in my opinion, quite erroneous. Turning in the first place to Prof. PETRIE'S article "Egypt and Israel,"² the author says that the silence of the Old Testament with regard to the invasion by Rameses II which extended over Moab, Judea, and Galilee; the invasion by Merenptah which crushed the "People of Israel"; and the invasion by Rameses III, which went through Judea as well as the North; makes it difficult to suppose that the invasion of Canaan occurred until after the last raid of Rameses III. He places the Exodus under Merenptah, and finds no difficulty in accepting the obvious conclusion that the last Egyptian raid was over before the Twelve Tribes entered Palestine in a body. He rejects the hypothesis that the mention of the People of Israel in the Inscription of Merenptah refers to the Twelve Tribes in Palestine after the Exodus, and says that it is very improbable that it refers to the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt. He inclines to the hypothesis that, either a part of the Israelites remained behind in Palestine

¹ *S.B.A. Proceedings*, XX (1898), pp. 277 ff.; and XXI (1899), pp. 53 ff.

² *Contemporary Review*, May, 1896.

when the others went down into Egypt; or that a part of the Israelites in Egypt may have returned to Canaan soon after the famine. Prof. PETRIE's view, of which the above is a summary, is based on chronological and historical reasons which I regard as erroneous.

Turning to Prof. SPIEGELBERG's pamphlet *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten* (Strasburg, 1904) we find that the author resolves the problem in much the same way as does Prof. PETRIE. He places the Exodus under Merenptah, and divides the Israelites into several Tribes, some of which dwelt in Palestine while others, contemporaneously, remained in Egypt. He gives, on page 13, the following Table:

GOSENSTÄMME.	PALÄSTINA-STÄMME.	ÄGYPTISCHE GESCHICHTE.	JAHRE V. CHR.
Starke Einwanderung semitischer Stämme, von denen sich einige dauernd im Gosen niederlassen.		Die Herrschaft der semitischen Hyksosdynastie in Ägypten.	Um 1700-1550.
		Syrien und Palästina werden ägyptischer Vasallenstaat.	Um 1450.
	Hebräische Stämme (die Chabiri) dringen in die syrischen Kleinstaaten ein.	Reformation des Königs Amenophis IV.	Um 1400.
		Sethos I. greift energisch in Syrien und Palästina ein.	Um 1350.
Das Wohlwollen der Regierung gegenüber den Gosenstämmen vermindert sich.		Ramses II. erhält die Oberhoheit Ägyptens in Südpalästina aufrecht.	1324-1258.
Auszug der Gosenstämme unter Mose.	Die hebräischen Stämme, unter ihnen Israel, rücken wieder vor, werden aber von Merenptah geschlagen.	Merenptah.	Um 1250.
Vereinigung der Gruppen.	beiden Stammes-	Nach der ruhmreichen Regierung Ramses III. schneller Verfall.	Um 1200.

Here we have a striking discord between the Bible and modern scholars.

To begin with, the Books of Moses tell us that the People of Israel was constituted during their sojourn in the land of Goshen, and during their march towards Palestine; whereas according to the scholars the Hebrews or Israelites regarding themselves as a unit, as a single nation for centuries, were divided into groups or tribes which dwelt separately in both Egypt and Palestine.

Now from this supposition that there were Israelites in Palestine and in Egypt at the same time, and that the two parties were in constant touch with one another, it necessarily follows that the Israelites who emigrated from Egypt would, on their arrival in Palestine, find their compatriots as friends and allies.

But the Bible makes no mention of anything of the kind. It tells us on the contrary that the Israelites met with none but enemies, the Amorites, Jebusites, Moabites, etc., all of whom were, in accordance with the divine command, to be exterminated.³ In *Exodus* xv. 15 we read, "Then were the princes of Edom troubled, and trembling seized the strong men of Moab, all the inhabitants of Canaan melted away," and again, "The nations have heard it and trembled at it; grief has seized the inhabitants of Palestine."

But why, simply for the sake of a false chronology, allow ourselves to be drawn into such controversies? In any case the Bible is an important historical record which we cannot neglect. We may at least ask that Science shall, if possible, reconcile the Biblical record with other records.

In this instance it is possible, and moreover the solution is self-evident.

I commenced this article by saying that the Exodus of the Hebrews took place in the latter part of the reign of Amenhetep III.

Prof. PETRIE seems to have recognized this solution of the difficulty, but has rejected it because of the silence of the Old Testament on the wars in Syria of Rameses II, Merenptah, and Rameses III. On this point I beg to offer the following remarks:—

³ Cf. MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, vol. II, p. 65: "If the people of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Ishmael, originally called themselves 'the Hebrews,' this parentage was forgotten at the time of the Exodus, for at that time the Israelites of Goshen alone were Hebrews (*Genesis* xxxix, 14, 17, etc.; *Exodus* i, 15, 16, etc.), and under Joshua all these people, the Amorites, Ammonites, etc., were regarded as enemies to be destroyed."

To begin with, the *argumentum e silentio* is not a very strong argument, for the wars referred to were, for the Israelites, only raids lasting a short time, and the ordinary route of the Egyptian army was only along the border of their country. In fact the silence is not so absolute as one might suppose. In *Judges* v, 19 we read, "The kings came and fought; then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo." These words from the Song of Deborah sound like the dull and distant noise of the battles of the Pharaohs at Taanach and Megiddo to the south-east of Carmel on the principal route of the Egyptian armies, frequented by Seti I, Rameses II, and Merenptah. Moreover *Joshua* xv, 9, and xviii, 15, mention, according to the accepted reading, "The fountain of the waters of Nephtoah"; but which, according to the happy conjecture of M. v. CALICE,⁴ should be read, "The fountain of Merenptah." This fountain, situated south-west of Jerusalem, was probably named after an encampment of Merenptah during the war of the 5th year of his reign.

I conclude with a *résumé* of my views on the history of the Israelites with reference to the Egyptian episode.

Circa 1535 B.C. The entry of the family of Jacob into the land of Goshen, under the later kings of the Hyksos. The names of *Potiphar* (*Genesis*, xxxix, 1); *Asnath*; Zaphnath-Paaneah (*Genesis* xli, 45); indicate the Hyksos period, not that of the XXth and following dynasties.⁵

Circa 1490 B.C. Commencement of the XVIIIth dynasty which represents "the new king over Egypt who knew not Joseph" (*Exodus*, i, 8).

1456-1386 B.C. THOTHMES III. According to "THEOPHILUS ad AUTOLYCUM" III § 20 the oppressor of the Hebrews, who made them build the cities of Pithom and Raamses. The Bible text (*Exodus*, i, 11) which records this must have been written under Rameses II.

Circa 1320 B.C. The Exodus of the Hebrews under Moses, during the latter years of Amenhetep III. Josephus gives the name of Amenophis to the Pharaoh of the Exodus.

⁴ *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, 1903, p. 224.

⁵ Cf. my Article "Mots égyptiens dans la Bible," *S.E.A. Proceedings*, XX (1898), pp. 202 ff.

1318-1286 B.C. AMENHETEP IV. According to the Tell el Amarna letters the Khabiru made incursions in Palestine during the reign of Amenhetep IV, he being occupied with his religious reform. It was the Hebrews who under Joshua entered into their promised land.

1231-1180 B.C. Seti I conquered the Israelite tribe of Asser in Palestine.⁶

1180-1114 B.C. RAMESES II. The wars in Syria of Seti I and Rameses II are probably mentioned in *Judges*, v, 19.

1114-1094 B.C. Merenptah ravaged the country of the Israelites in Palestine. A tradition of this raid is probably found in the name "The fountain of Merenptah" (see page 217).

We see, therefore, that the Bible narrative is on all points in agreement with the Egyptian records. Is not this evidence of its truth?

⁶ LEPSIUS, *Denkmal.* III, 140a.

COPTIC BONE FIGURES.

BY C. LEONARD WOOLLEY.

Familiar amongst Coptic objects are small bone carvings fashioned more or less roughly to the human shape. Most of these are vaguely provenanced as from Old Cairo; one in the Gizeh Museum is from Thebes; they have been found at Antinoe and in the cemetery of el Zâouia near Siout. STRZYGOWSKI, in the Catalogue of the Gizeh Museum, says of them: "There can be no doubt about the meaning of these little figures. They are not idols, but dolls, as is proved by Nos. 368-9 in the K.-Friedrich Museum¹ (see plate,

¹ I am much indebted to the authorities of the K.-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, for permission to publish Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, and to Prof. Petrie for No. 8.

No. 4), in which the hair is still attached with wax and wool. Similar dolls dating from early Egyptian times are in the British Museum. According to Gayet, naturally, they are gnostic figures."

Without inclining to gnosticism I venture to think that STRZYGOWSKI'S judgment is open to doubt. (1) Coptic dolls, such as he refers to, of leather, linen-rag, and clay, are all known, and have no resemblance at all to these bone figures; (2) the latter are usually too small to be dolls, varying as they do from two inches to five and a half inches in height; (3) they are invariably female, and nude, and the sexual organs are always a marked feature; (4) one figure in the Berlin collection is inscribed with the religious formula (ε)is θεος; (5) the originally realistic human type evolves into the purely cruciform. It is on this evolution that I would lay stress, and the examples shown illustrate the process fairly clearly.

At the beginning of the series there is a gross realism. The forms are rounded; the hair, as before said, is of wool and wax; the arms were in some cases moveable, or at any rate made in separate pieces—doubtless owing to the material, the bone being too narrow to give more than the width of the torso. The heads, too, are sometimes made separately, with a long spike for insertion in the body, in which case the body must have been cut in the round, and accordingly, most of these heads come early in the series. Sometimes the features were painted. The ears are often prominent and pierced, as if for ear-rings, or for suspension; sometimes holes are bored through the body at the arm-pits.

As the series progresses, the figures become squarer in outline and more geometrical in their inner markings; not only is the working more superficial and summary, but the body is cut in the flat, its back being unworked and showing the natural hollow of the bone. The features on which most insistence is laid are the breasts, naturally marked by a diagonal cross, and the pudenda, denoted as usual by the triangle or a V-shaped incision. The features of the face become more and more sketchy, and in No. 8 are eliminated altogether; in most cases the mouth tends to disappear, while the eyes become either V-shaped or circular. The feet are shown by a horizontal cut just above the extremity of the figure; in a few cases (*e.g.*, No. 5) the cuts denoting the arms seem to be confused with the breast-lines. In the fully-developed cross (wooden; No. 10) the breast-lines are very prominent, the legs are still divided and the feet marked, the pudenda shown merely by the favourite Coptic decorative motive

of concentric circles, while similar circles mark the features of the face, others being added, I take it, merely for symmetry.

No. 12 shows a somewhat divergent type.

This transition from the human figure to the cross seems fairly certain, and coupled with the inscription on No. 4, which comes quite early in the series, shows that in the beginning, as at the end, the figures had some religious or superstitious import. What that may have been cannot be definitely stated, but the insistence on sex throughout the series rather points to its being connected with fertility in childbirth. If this is the case, they might possibly link up with the much earlier type of bone figure, No. 13; this is a lineal descendant of the Graeco-Egyptian parturition ex-votos in terra-cotta or limestone, of which quantities were found at Naukratis. At the same time there is, it must be admitted, nothing in the style of No 13, that would connect it with the Coptic series.

Such a fertility-amulet might survive amongst the poorer classes² of Copts, in its old form, until this became invidious—and the inscription on No. 4 looks rather as if meant to counteract the odium of a pagan form—next in a more ambiguous shape, and at last as a definitely Christian symbol, still retaining, however, the marks of its original.

PLATE.

- Figures* Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, in the K.-Friedrich Museum, Berlin.
„ Nos. 2, 5, 10, 13, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
„ Nos. 7, 9, in the Cairo Museum.
„ No. 8, in University College Museum, London.

² W. de BOCK : *L'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*, p. 93, "les sepultures (d'el Zâouia) sont pauvres . . . plusieurs poupées en os ont été trouvées."



1



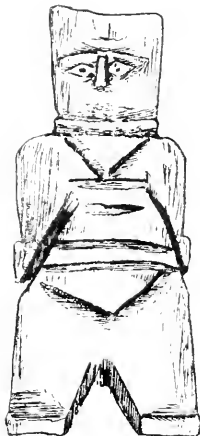
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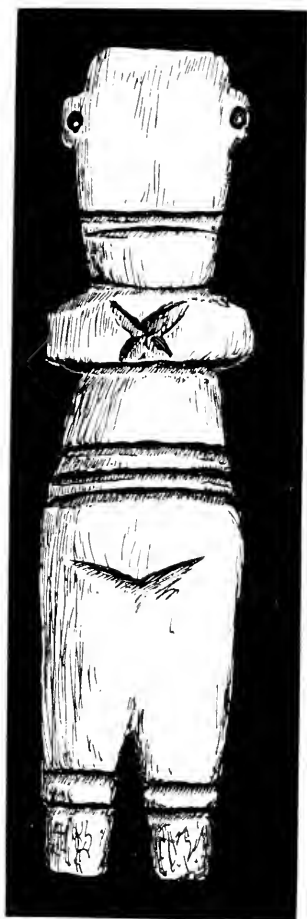
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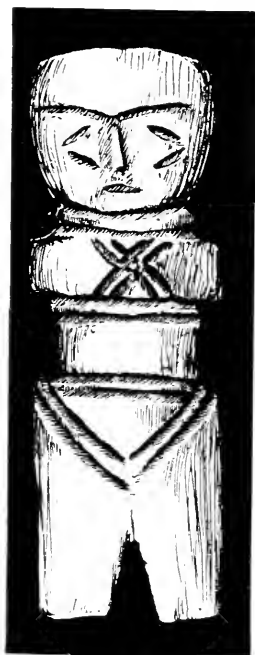
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6



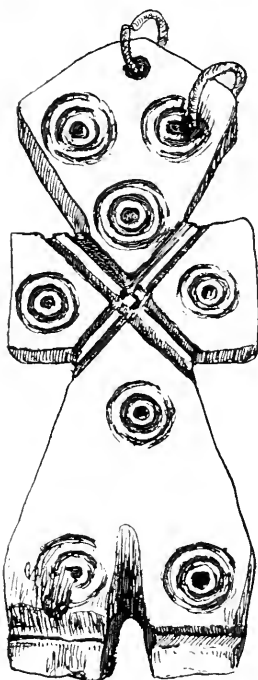
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11



13



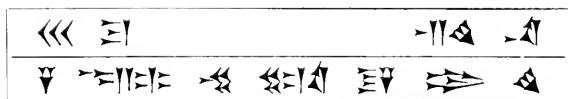
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
















NABÛ-SHUM-LIBUR, KING OF BABYLON.

By L. W. KING, *M.A., F.S.A.*

An inscription upon a duck-weight (Brit. Mus., No. 91,432), found by LAYARD in the North-West Palace at Nimrûd, bears the name of a king, about whose country, reign, and period nothing has hitherto been definitely ascertained. The inscription reads:—



The text may be rendered: (1) XXX *ma*-[*na*] *kînu*; (2) *ša* (*ilu*)*Nabû-šum-li-bur šar kiššati*. “(1) Thirty mana, correct; (2) of Nabû-shum-libur, king of hosts.” The text has been previously published by LAYARD, *Inscriptions*, pl. 83, F, and by NORRIS, *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI (1856), *plate*; for other references, see WEISSBACH, *Z.D.M.G.*, Bd. LXI, p. 394 f. Since Nabû-shum-libur only bears the title *šar kiššati*, “king of hosts,” or “king of the world,” and the weight was found at Nimrûd, he has been regarded by some as an Assyrian king who ruled at some period before B.C. 893 (see JOHNS, *Assyr. Deeds and Doc.*, II, p. 264). On the the other hand, WINCKLER has recently suggested that he was the last king of the Fourth Dynasty of the Kings’ List, whose name is written on that document as Nabû-shum- [. . . .]. We now have definite evidence that Nabû-shum-libur is to be assigned to the Fourth Dynasty. In the Babylonian religious chronicle, No. 35,968, Col. I, l. 16 (see my *Chronicles concerning early Babylonian kings*, Vol. II, p. 159), the name of a king occurs as                

A HAMMURABI TEXT FROM ASHSHURBANIPAL'S LIBRARY.

BY THE REV. W. T. PILTER.

(Continued from p. 164.)

NOTES.

(See reference numbers in the Text.)

¹ The omission of "or" (*il lu*) which occurs here is faithfully copied from the original text of the Hammurabi Code *stela*, which usually inserts the phrase but omits it just at this part.

² *I.e.*, has not fulfilled a certain period. The *stela* reads *arḫu-šu la im-la-ma*, "has not fulfilled his month." The reading *-la-am* of our text I do not understand.

³ The *stela* reads *bi-en-ni e-li-šu*. *Bēnnu* is believed to be some disease, perhaps an ulcerous condition. Prof. SCHEIL renders the expression "une infirmité (paralyse)"; Dr. R. F. HARPER, "bennu fever." The *-ir-ni* of our text is evidently a variant reading which might have solved the question, were it not that, unfortunately, the first syllable of the word is lost.

⁴ *I.e.*, places hard of access; perhaps mountain fastnesses rather than the difficult ways of bog or fen land. In the bi-lingual inscription on a broken statue of black basalt in the British Museum (referred to in the footnote on p. 158 above), a corresponding passage to this (Col. III, ll. 15-17), Dr. JENSEN (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III, Pt. i, p. 117) read as *mu-bi-it-ti pu-uš-ki* [*šadi*] *a-aš-tu-tim* (literally: "opener up of difficult mountain places"), a reading accepted by Mr. KING, although his copy of the inscription (in Hammurabi's *Letters*, Pt. I, 117) shows that it is not certain that *šadē* is to be read.

⁵ In the *stela*, Prof. SCHEIL here transcribes *u-pi-it-ti* [*u*]-*si-am* (and translates, "j'ai frayé un chemin, et leur mandai assistance"),


but his text seems rather to read *u-pi-it-ti nu-ra*, as Drs. WINCKLER and HARPER also read. Our tablet thus establishes *nu-ra* as the correct reading.






⁶ I here adopt and translate the *li-ú-tim* of the *stela*. The reading *tu-ú-tim* of our tablet is evidently a scribal error.

⁷ Our scribe here for Hammurabi's *i-di-nam* ("has given") has substituted a synonym, *iš-ru-kam*, "has bestowed."

⁸ Note the addition here to the *stela* text of another god of the Babylonian pantheon in the words "and the god Adad." This appears to have been somewhat of a furtive interpolation, as the copyist continues with the attributive epithets in the singular number. The copyist, having made the interpolation, then altered the context so as to allow for his addition, then he appears to have got his passage mixed up with a preceding one (ll. 70-73) of the same column of the *stela*, which reads:—*dī-in ma-tim a-na di-a-nim | pu-ru-zi-e ma-tim | a-na pa-ra-si-im*. These words are immediately followed on the *stela* by others, saying that Hammurabi had written his weighty words (the Code) upon his monument, that is, upon the *stela*, whereupon Ashshurbanipal's scribe was recalled to the point from which he had wandered, and returned to his text.

⁹ E-sagil is, of course, the well-known temple of Merodach in Babylon.

¹⁰ The *um-ma-an-šu* of the tablet shows us that the  of the *stela* (l. 17) is to be read as *ummānu*, and not as its synonym *šālu*, by which it has hitherto been transcribed.

¹¹ The *stela* appears to read   , but perhaps the correct reading is  , which would then be the same as the tablet.





¹² This line has a pleonastic *šu* and, as well as the next line, shows a variant reading of the *stela*.

¹³ *ki-ma i-il-ti*. The *stela* has *i-ša-tim*, "like a fire."

¹⁴ *iš-a-a[m]*, the objective case of *išu*, the masculine form of "fire." The *stela* text, two lines earlier, has the commoner feminine form *išatu*.


¹⁵ I can only suggest possible explanations of this variant line. The *stela* reads *da-ni-a-tim*, "mighty." It may be that our *a-ta-an* is another form, in the construct state, either of *adānu*, "fixed, appointed," or even of *adannu*, a synonym of *dannu*. In either case, what does the *-ir* stand for in the earlier part of the line? Did the whole line give a peculiar form of *irritu*, in the feminine plural construct, or with the adverbial termination *-tan*?

¹⁶ Unfortunately, the signs of number, if any, which preceded the "5" are broken off. The line might possibly have meant that the total of the enactments of Hammurabi's Code was "—5," perhaps 275 or 285. Mr. L. W. KING has helpfully suggested to me that the line probably stated that *our tablet* contained "5" enactments of Hammurabi. No doubt this is the true explanation; but if so, the sections must have been divided differently from the way modern Assyriologists divide them, because (on *data* given below) I estimate that our first column contained about 60 lines, and so would have begun with what we call § 274, which would give nine—not five nor fifteen—sections. If, however, § 274 counted as the first enactment on our tablet, §§ 275–277 as the second, § 278 as the third, §§ 279–281 as the fourth, and § 282 as the fifth, 5 enactments only (of the ancient scribe's reckoning) would have been copied on to our tablet. It would, therefore, in any case, as the colophon proceeds to state, be an "incomplete" edition, although it may have been one of a series of tablets which, taken together, contained a complete copy of Hammurabi's Code.

¹⁷ The first part of this line may perhaps be restored, from the colophon to the "Prayer of Istar" (given in Mr. KING's *Seven Tablets of Creation*: the text in Vol. II, plate 84, l. 112, and the transcription and translation in Vol. I, pp. 236–7), to     *kima labāru-šu*. The whole line would then have read: "like its original, written and revised."

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Our tablet is one of much interest not only to the Assyriologist, but also to a larger circle because of the contribution it offers to the solution of larger questions.

First, to the principles which guided ancient copyists. Generally speaking, our tablet is faithful to the original. Our scribe even copies cuneiform signs (such as ) which had changed their phonetic value since the time of the original text, and does not alter them to the current orthography; quite rarely he uses a synonym instead of copying the original word: occasionally, in the epilogue, apparently because of the space at his disposal, a few words are omitted or a few lines paraphrased. Then there are a few scribal errors, arising from negligence, distraction, or weariness, such as the best of human copyists are liable to commit. Evidently, however, the

copyist of our tablet did not show the same scrupulous literal fidelity to which we are accustomed in the Massoretic copyists of the Hebrew Bible. But only once do we find a deliberate falsification of the text due to the *tendenz* or bias of the scribe (or his superiors). This occurs in the interpolation (in Col. C, l. 9) of the words "and the god Adad," after the mention in the original of "the god Shamash" only. Even then our scribe did not attempt to conceal that he had tampered with his text, for he left the epithets applied to the divinity as they were, in the singular number, just as though "and the god Adad" had not been inserted. The Hammurabi text, reproduced on our tablet from Ashshurbanipal's library, thus affords us an interesting example of the accuracy of ancient Assyrian copyists.

We next inquire, How much of the contents of the Code *stela* of Hammurabi was contained on our tablet? and, What light does the copy help to throw upon the knowledge of the Code in later times?

Our tablet, as already mentioned, is only a fragment of its original size. Yet, although both the top and bottom of it are lost, we can estimate the length of its columns, as first written, by comparing them with those of the *stela*. On the Obverse, our Col. A, l. 10, is parallel with Col. B, l. 3, and the matter covered between these two points occupies 60 lines on the *stela*; here, therefore, our column was equal to 60 lines of the *stela*; Col. B, l. 3, is parallel with Col. C, l. 7, and this is equal to 65 lines on the *stela*; the greater number of lines here is accounted for by the fact that our first column contains some sections of the laws which are given more spacing than is the long epilogue. We might assume, therefore, that the obverse of the tablet contained one column of 60 lines and three columns of 65 lines each, giving a total of 255 lines for our Obverse. For the Reverse, we have only *data* to estimate one column, namely from Col. G, l. 11, to the parallel place on H, l. 10, and this gives 73 lines to the column on our *verso*; its four columns at 73 lines each would give us 292 lines for our Reverse. Thus the total of the lines on both sides of our tablet would be 547.

Turning to the *stela* we find that the Obverse of it preserves sixteen columns, containing 1,054 lines; besides this, five columns have been erased, and allowing them 66 lines each, or a total of 330 lines more, we get altogether 1,384 lines for the Obverse of the *stela*; the Reverse of it contains, in its twenty-eight columns, 2,523 lines.

The total number of lines on the complete *stela* were thus 3,907. It would therefore require about seven tablets of the contents we approximately estimate our own to have possessed, to have contained a complete copy of the *stela* inscription.

Now, if our tablet was one of a series giving a complete copy, it shows us the great value attached to the *stela* text for it to have been reproduced in clay so many centuries after the original; even if our tablet was not one of a series, but merely a copy of a section of the monument, it still seems to signify that the Hammurabi text was, in late Assyrian times, looked upon as an ancient classic, in law or literature, or in both, from which it was worth while making excerpts at the least.

But, as is well known, our tablet is not the only late copy of Hammurabi's Code (or of portions of it) which have come down to us: though it is the longest copy and the only one which contains any part of the *stela* text other than the laws.

Before speaking of those other copies, I may at this point be allowed to call attention to a recent discovery of fragments of a second *stela* which contained the laws of Hammurabi. It has been supposed by Professor Hubert GRIMME and, I believe, other scholars, that the *stela* discovered by the French excavators of Susa in December, 1901, and January, 1902, was made to be erected in the temple of the god Shamash, at Sippar, while other examples of the Code would be inscribed and placed in other temples of Babylonia. This view appears to have become justified, in fact, by the further discovery by the French *délégation* at Susa, in the winter of 1905-6, of three pieces of basalt, inscribed in cuneiform with §§ 60, 61, and 62; portions of other law sections, which must have appeared on the erased columns of the *stela* (and are found on at least one of the other tablets in the British Museum, to be immediately spoken of); also §§ 126 and 127; and a passage from the epilogue.*

Two other tablets from Ashshurbanipal's library contain law clauses which, though erased from the *stela*, are found, in part, on the new basalt fragments, viz., Rm. 277 and D.T. 81; both of these are

* See Mons. J. de MORGAN, in *Comptes Rendus*, of the Académie des Inscriptions, Paris, Juin, 1906, pp. 279-280. I presume that the fragment of a like *stela* to that which contained the Code, and to which Prof. SCHEIL referred in a note on p. 122 of his *Mémoire* as containing lines 73-79 of Col. xxv. of the Reverse of the *stela* (part of the epilogue), is another fragment of the same *stela* on which M. de MORGAN reports.

in the British Museum, and were published some years ago by Dr. MEISSNER.*

Rm. 277 cannot have contained more than extracts from the laws of the *stela*, as the remains of the tablet enable us to show, for Col. I of its Obverse begins with Obverse XV, l. 60 of the *stela* text, and the last column of the Reverse of Rm. 277 = Reverse IV, l. 21 of the *stela*; so that (reckoning the columns erased from the monument) Rm. 277, had it given a complete copy, would have contained no fewer than ten of the *stela* columns. But this it cannot have done. For if we allow Rm. 277 the same number of columns to a side that our tablet had, namely four (actually there is no trace of more than three), and if we further allow that its columns contained as many lines as those of the *stela* (which is somewhat improbable), even then the copyist of Rm. 277 cannot have given more than eight—*i.e.*, he must have omitted two—columns of the *stela* text. Rm. 277 contained, therefore, only extracts from Hammurabi's Code.

D.T. 81 has been thought to be but another portion of Rm. 277, but that does not seem probable. It is true that they cover, to some extent, complementary parts of the same text, come from the same library, and the columns are of approximately the same width, viz., $1\frac{1}{3}$ inches, but not only is Rm. 277 a thicker tablet, it is also made of a different and differently baked clay from D.T. 81; Rm. 277 is made of a clay which is yellow throughout and flaky, whereas that of D.T. 81 is of a grey-red, and hard in texture. Hence the two fragments represent two different origins.

The *data* for estimating the original contents of D.T. 81 are less exact than those for Rm. 277. But all that is extant of D.T. 81 is apparently from that part of the text of the *stela* which is now erased, until we come to Col. II of the Reverse, when the sixth line of that column is shown to be a line from § 104 of the Code, and coincides with Col. I, l. 35 of the *stela's* Reverse, while the corresponding place in the next column of the tablet (Col. III, l. 6) appears to be the same as Col. II, l. 54 of the Reverse of the *stela*. This would give the tablet a column equal to 91 lines of the *stela*, which is improbably large. We must therefore suppose that D.T. 81, like Rm. 277, was only a copy of *selections* from the Code of

* In the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Band III, pp. 501-504. They are reproduced by Prof. SCHEIL in the volume spoken of in the preceding note, viz., in tome IV of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, pp. 48-52, in the midst of his transcription and translation of the Hammurabi *stela*.

Hammurabi, which, it becomes evident, was an ancient classic in the law schools of Ashshurbanipal's time.

Furthermore, the Berlin Museum contains two fragmentary tablets which also had written upon them copies of small portions of Hammurabi's Code, and of a later date than any of those we have yet spoken of, for they belong to the New Babylonian period. Transcriptions and translations of these were published about 17 years ago by Dr. PEISER,* they are known as V.A. Th. 991 and V.A. Th. 1036. V.A. Th. 991 contains remains of §§ 147, 148, 149, 152, 153 and 154 (from Cols. VIII and IX of the Reverse) of the *stela*. It is hard to say what the contents of the complete tablet may have been, but I roughly estimate that one column of it contained about 71 lines, or one-eighth less than the corresponding column of the *stela*. The second column of this tablet (after giving § 154 of the Code) ends thus: *duppu vii-kam [ni]-nu ilu ši-ru-um*; that is, "7th tablet (of the series beginning) (*Ni*)-*nu ilu [n] ši-ru-um*," which are the opening words of Hammurabi's *stela*. But, in spite of these closing words, the next column of this tablet (Col. III) contains, in effect, clause 159 (= Reverse X, ll. 33-46) of the *stela*.

V. A. Th. 1,036 is considerably smaller than the tablet just treated of. It contains only twelve lines, and some of those are imperfect, but they form part of Hammurabi's Code, viz., Reverse, Col. XII, ll. 61-70 (§ 171).

In view of these facts, it is difficult to resist the conclusion to which Dr. PEISER was led, that these two tablets contain exercises made by students of the law schools, in other words, perhaps, temple-student scribes, of the New Babylonian Empire, and are excerpts, be it remembered, from the law Code of Hammurabi, promulgated by him (if the date commonly assigned to him is correct) some 1,800 years previously.

Returning to our own Museum Collection, K. 4,223 also contains part of the Hammurabi text, as the two lines quoted from the second column of it in Prof. SAYCE's first Hibbert Lectures (1887) p. 226n¹, viz., *ana kharran sarri halak-su gabu la illip*, occur as three lines on the *stela* (Obverse, Col. IX, ll. 68, 69 and Col. X, l. 1) and form part of what Prof. SCHEIL numbers § 26 of Hammurabi's Code.

Yet other legal tablets from Ashshurbanipal's library may be based

* F. E. PEISER, *Jurisprudentiæ Babylonicae quæ supersunt* (Cöthen, 1890), pp. 33 ff. Cf. also *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, von J. Kohler und F. E. Peiser (1904), *Verde*.

upon the Code. *E.g.*, some of what are called "grammatical paradigms concerning legal subjects," such as K 4,316, begin with legal terms which are found in the Code, and are followed by others founded on the same model. 82, 7-14, 864 is said to be a duplicate of this.

Others may be looked upon as supplemental to Hammurabi. K 199 + K 245, *e.g.*, refers to a badly built house, somewhat differently from §§ 229-233 of the Code; it may even be a modification of § 233.

Lastly, we must advert to the so-called Sumerian Laws of the Family: though, as one of them refers to a hired slave, we might rather call them Sumerian Domestic Laws. The text is given in W.A.I. II, 10, better in W.A.I. V, 24, 25; also in Vol. VIII of this Society's *Transactions*, and in many other works. These Sumerian laws, of which the extant bilingual text also comes from Ashshurbanipal's library (K. 251) and, also like our tablet, were copied and revised from an ancient original, deal with subjects for the most part dealt with by Hammurabi (as in his §§ 191, 192), but in a different manner and with different penalties. It is remarkable that the penalties of the Sumerian laws are less barbarous than those of Hammurabi. The Sumerian law says that if a son denied his father he shall be branded and sold as a slave; if he denied his mother he should be branded and expelled from his city; while Hammurabi's Code said that if a son of a certain class denied his foster-father or foster-mother, his tongue should be cut out, and if he hated them and went back to his own father's house, his eye should be torn out. The Sumerian laws were at one time inscribed on no fewer than seven tablets, and we might conclude that already, before the time of Hammurabi, *i.e.*, before the time of Abraham, there existed among the pre-Semitic people of Babylonia a codified system of law. But this startling conclusion scarcely accords with what we know of the Sumerian civilization of that early date, we must rather suppose that after the time of Hammurabi, when the grasp of his Semitic successors became temporarily enfeebled, there was a rally, both literary and political, of the older inhabitants of Babylonia, and they, on Hammurabi's model, codified their own law. This may have occurred in the period of the so-called Second Dynasty of Babylon, those very obscure times in which—as our President has recently reminded us*—the kings bore Sumerian names.

* *Archæology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*. By Prof. A. H. SAYCE (1907), pp. 88-89.

But whatever may be the true explanation of the Sumerian legislation, the investigation of our present tablet and its cognate texts demonstrate to us that in the times of Ashshurbanipal (B.C. 667-626) and for long afterwards—in the period that is, in Hebrew history, from the times of King Manasseh and onward till the time of the Jewish Captivity, or later—the laws of Hammurabi, which, as we shall presently recall, were mainly the laws under which the patriarchs of Israel lived in Canaan, were well known and diligently copied by the scribes of Assyria and Babylonia.

From this we are led to an induction of some importance to modern criticism of the Old Testament. For we have further to remember that, during the period stated, the contact of Assyria or Babylonia with the Jewish people was practically continuous, tolerably close, and often friendly (far too friendly, indeed, for the peace and safety of the Hebrews). In the earlier part of the period, Israel was sending embassages and paying tribute to Assyria; in the later part, Judah was living in exile in the empire of New Babylonia and its Persian successor; some of her sons were on the staff of the court, many of them in close relations of trade or service with the subjects of their new eastern and north-eastern masters, and not a few of them (as tablets discovered by Dr. HILPRECHT at Niffer show) were mixed up in Babylonian legal processes. In remembrance of all this, it must be conceded that the professional classes—the court, the priests, and scribes—of the Jews must then have had abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with Hammurabi's Code; the prophet Daniel, indeed, and probably many another compatriot, must often, with his own eyes, have looked upon that very *stela* of Hammurabi which the French *délégation* unearthed in December, 1901, and January, 1902: for that *stela* must have been standing in the precincts of "Shushan the palace," in the then Babylonian "province of Elam,"* at the time that the prophet Daniel sojourned there.

Now there was a period in the history of the Hebrews—viz., that of its patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—when the provisions of Hammurabi's Code were in force among them; this is shown by the conduct of the patriarchs, as narrated in the Book of Genesis, with respect, e.g., to marriage (secondary wives, legitimacy, inheritance, and settlements), which was in remarkable accord with the prescriptions of Hammurabi's Code. But that period had long passed away.

* Daniel viii, 2.

In the later times under review, which were the very period when, according to the modern criticism, the bulk of the legal system of the Pentateuch was being composed, or at least codified—then, in spite of the accessibility of Hammurabi's law to Jewish legislators and students, in spite also of the fact that Hammurabian law ruled with the Hebrew patriarchs, and would therefore have had an attraction for later Israel and their sanction—in spite of all these considerations, both the civil law itself of the Pentateuch, and the terminology of it, are very dissimilar from those of Hammurabi's Code: indeed, not one single clause of the civil law of the Pentateuch can be safely attributed to Hammurabi's Code. This is true not only of the later civil legislation of Deuteronomy, but also of the earlier, as found in, especially in the first part of, the so-called "Book of the Covenant" (Exodus, xxi-xxii, 19). This conclusion Professor Hubert GRIMME has proved by a detailed comparison, clause by clause, of that Covenantal book with the corresponding clauses in Hammurabi's statutes. He has further shown that the real basis of the earliest civil law of the nation of Israel is Old Semitic (such as we may believe ruled in the Mosaic period, and earlier, among the half settled Semitic tribes of the Egyptian Delta and of the peninsula of Sinai), although such Old Semitic law was often modified in a humane sense in the Book of the Covenant; and where the clauses of that Book agree with those of the Babylonian Code it is because both systems at that part are Old Semitic.*

This conclusion history also ought to lead us to expect. For at the time of the Exodus centuries had elapsed since Israel had left Canaan and Hammurabian influence, and during nearly the whole of that time had been in close contiguity with the Bedouin pastoral tribes of Goshen, who were of the same Semitic race as themselves. Naturally, therefore, Semitic customary law was the substratum of the earliest civil law of the Israelites, and that, with the very considerable modifications of it which Moses was led to make, was never modified, so far as we know, by the Babylonian Code, but continued to be, in substance at least, the statute law of Israel throughout the Old Testament period. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that any part of the civil law of the Pentateuch was contributed by Babylonian sources.

* Dr. H. GRIMME, *Das Gesetz Chammurabis und Moses* (Köln, 1903). An English translation of a new edition of this *brochure*, with additional chapters of my own on Pentateuchal Archaeology, will shortly be published by the Christian Knowledge Society.

EGYPTIAN WRITINGS IN FOUNDATION WALLS, AND THE AGE OF THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

BY PROF. E. NAVILLE.

In the Book of the Dead there is a chapter called the "chapter of the heart." It consists of the words which the deceased is supposed to speak, in the judgment scene, to his heart when it is being weighed on the scale. In connection with it we find the following rubric of which the shortest form is as follows :—

"This chapter was found at Shmun (Hermopolis) on a slab or stone of the South (alabaster?), written in true lapis *under the feet of this god*."¹

Another papyrus gives it under this form :—

"This chapter was found at Shmun (Hermopolis) on a brick or slab of stone of the South *under the feet of the Majesty of this venerable god* in the writing of the god himself, in the time of the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaura. The royal son Hordudéf found it when he was on his way to inspect the temples of Egypt."²

This comes from a papyrus in Parma which was written for an official of the XVIIIth dynasty called Amenophis. It follows the chapter of the heart, over which is represented the ceremony of the weighing.

Other texts of the same time, such as for instance the papyrus of Tuaa newly discovered, or the papyrus of Nu in the British Museum, put this rubric at the end of a long version of chapter 64, but always before the chapter of the heart, which is sometimes engraved on a scarab, and which is a kind of abridgment of the judgment scene. In the Paris papyrus P.c.³ the rubric precedes the picture of the weighing of the soul.

In these three texts the rubric is longer. After speaking of the magical effect of the book, it says :—

"This chapter was found at Hermopolis, on a brick or stone of the South (alabaster?) engraved in pure lapis, *under the feet of this*

¹ NAVILLE, *Todt.*, II, Pl. 139.

² *Ibid.*, II, Pl. 99.

³ *Ibid.*, I, Pl. 167.

god, in the time of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaura. The royal son Hordudéf found it when he was on his way to inspect the temples . . . ” Then follow words which I cannot make out with certainty, but which seem to me to indicate that someone who was with him explained to him what was written, so that he could understand how precious it was . . . “and he (the royal son) brought it to the king as a marvel when he saw that it was something mysterious which nobody had seen or looked at.”

This rubric is found in the oldest copy which we have of the 64th chapter, in the texts of a sarcophagus copied by WILKINSON,⁴ and it goes down to the Ptolemaic and Roman times in the late copies of the Book of the Dead, of which a great number have been preserved.

It has been considered to be a kind of forgery by which the priests attributed a very old origin to that chapter, so as to make it more venerable. But if it were so, why should they have done it only for this chapter, or this group of chapters, and for another of which I shall speak? What reason was there for singling out this chapter, and regarding it as having an origin distinct from that of the others?



I believe this rubric has been misunderstood, and that it means that from a very remote antiquity this chapter engraved on a stone slab was put under the statue of the god Thoth, in the temple which was specially dedicated to him: the temple of the city of Shmun (Hermopolis). The fact to be learned from these texts seems to me to be that it was the custom to make a deposit under the statue of Thoth, and perhaps also of other gods: and, as Thoth is above all the god of writing and of books, it is natural that one of the books attributed to him should be part of this deposit. This custom has been recognized not in Egypt itself but in Asia Minor, in the temple of Ephesus, where Mr. HOGARTH found, under the place where the statue of the goddess Artemis stood, a treasure of gold ornaments which seem to go back to the earliest temple-structure on the spot.


It seems very probable that in the rubric we have an allusion to a very similar custom, and if at present we have found no deposits under statues, this is perhaps due to the attention of excavators in Egypt having been directed exclusively to foundation deposits, and moreover, to our not always knowing where stood the chief statue of a temple if there was one. In a construction like the temple of

⁴ GOODWIN, *Zeitschr.*, 1866, p. 53.

Amon at Thebes, covering a very wide area, comprising a great number of rooms, courts and halls, it is not easy to find the place where was erected the principal statue of the god; and where was the deposit hidden under his feet. The silver floor mentioned several times in the XXIst dynasty, and where the god appeared when he was to speak and give judgment, may have been a place of that kind. But it was probably different in the time of Menkaura of the IVth dynasty; one may imagine at that remote epoch a small sanctuary which was the abode of the god, and which he occupied alone.

If under the feet of Artemis jewels were hidden when for the first time her statue was erected on that spot, one may well imagine also that when the worshippers of Thoth for the first time raised his statue in his own city, they may have put under the base one of the books which were supposed to be his words. Evidently the writing on the slab was, if not unknown, at least hardly intelligible to those who found it, since it is said that it was something very mysterious which nobody had seen before.

The brick or slab is made of  ... "hard stone of the South." M. MASPERO translates the word  *bâa*, even in the texts of the Pyramids, as iron, but that sounds rather extraordinary in the expression where it occurs most usually: thou sittest or he sitteth on a throne of *bâa*. In this case it is evidently a stone of which the throne is made. There is no doubt that later on the word may have meant iron. But I should think that in the time of the pyramids, when evidently they could not work the iron, this metal was not distinguished from the stones, and therefore had the same name.

Another reason why it cannot be iron is that our text says that the book was  "engraved with pure lapis." This may be interpreted in two different ways, either the signs were engraved and afterwards painted blue, the name of the stone being used here for that of its colour, or the characters were inlaid in lapis, as has been found occasionally on very fine sarcophagi, or in other instances. Both interpretations exclude the iron, which would not be appropriate either for engraving nor for inlaying. I feel inclined to think that the true interpretation is "inlaid with." Since the object spoken of was precious, dedicated


to a god, and meant to last for centuries, it was necessary to adopt some process which would be more durable than painting. Besides, this raises a question which cannot be treated fully here: whether, in the history of decoration, inlaying is not the starting-point, and does not precede painting.

I consider, therefore, the stone of the South as some valuable stone, probably alabaster, as we read in the texts of later times. On the slab the book was inlaid in lapis. As for the date, that of king Menkaura, we must notice that all the texts mention it. But the date itself seems to me less important than the instance we have here of a custom going back to a very early age, of putting deposits under the statues, and among those deposits occasionally a writing.

It is not under the statues only that books were deposited. Another rubric teaches us that such writings were put in the foundation walls. They must have been a kind of foundation deposit. This rubric belongs to a version of chapter 64, which exists only in older texts and which is much shorter than the other one. In the best papyri of the XVIIIth dynasty, both these versions are generally found in different places, and also in the text of the XIth dynasty. The longer and more detailed version of chapter 64, to which the rubric which we have just studied is sometimes affixed, with the chapter of the heart, is that which has been preserved in the later texts. Its title is "chapter of going out of the day." The other version of chapter 64, the shortest, has usually another title: "chapter of knowing the chapters of going out of the day in one chapter,"⁵ showing clearly that it is a summary—a condensed form—of several chapters of "the going out of the day," of the Book of the Dead, existing at that time and which have been abridged into one.

This short chapter has the following rubric. After describing its magic effect, it adds: "this chapter was found *in the foundations of Amihunnu, by the overseer of the men who built a wall*, in the time of king Usaphais; its figures are mysterious, nobody has seen them nor looked at them."


Here the book is no longer under a statue, it is in a foundation wall, and the discoverer is the head of the masons who brought it to light, probably when some repairs were made to the construction.










The word  "foundation" is perfectly clear, and the dis-

⁵ NAVILLE, *Tout.*, II, Pl. 132. BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead*, Text, p. 142.

covery is made, not by a royal son like the other one, but by a mason, by a workman who could certainly not be considered as the author of the book.

The discovery is made in the time of Usaphais, a king of the Ist dynasty: this would mean that the book of "the going out of the day" went as far back as the earliest kings. Here again too much stress must not be put on the name of the king, although we have there a tradition which reaches from the XIth dynasty⁶ down to the latest papyri.⁷ According to that tradition, Usaphais had something to do with the composition of the Book of the Dead; but this is not in my opinion the important point. What seems to me the interesting feature of this text is that we find here an instance of the custom of putting writings in the foundation walls of a temple.

These foundations are said to belong to the god Amihunnu, the god who inhabits Hunnu. This sounds like a very old name, and it is not found in later inscriptions. CHABAS⁸ considers Hunnu as the phonetic reading of , which according to him means Denderah, but which in this case would rather mean Heliopolis. Hunnu is the same god as Sokaris, a form of Osiris in a boat; the geographical names formed with Hunnu or Sokaris would rather lead us to Memphis. But in chapter 178, which is a Pyramid text, Hunnu seems connected with Heliopolis. Whether it be the one or the other, both are among the oldest cities of Egypt; and we hear that in the foundation wall of the sanctuary was deposited this book, discovered afterwards by a mason.

The description of the book is as follows          *semu shetau*, "mysterious figures which were not seen nor looked at." If we turn to the rubrics of the book of the Duat describing the course of the sun at night, we find at nearly each hour the word *semu* with the sense of forms, representations, figures which are written in certain places of the Duat. So that here we can take this word as meaning what was written in the book discovered. It was something quite new, which nobody had seen, a writing which was a mystery, for perhaps nobody would understand it. We have


⁶ GOODWIN, *Zeitschr.*, 1866, p. 54.


⁷ The Turin text mixes together the two rubrics into one, and affixes it to chapter 130; a chapter which, in the old texts, never has an historical rubric.

⁸ *Œuvres*, III, p. 42.

seen already the same description given of the text engraved on the alabaster slab under the statue of Thoth.

Thus we have gone a step further than with the first rubric; we have found a mention of texts being laid in foundation walls. A book prepared with such unusual care must have been the object of a special veneration, and this summary of funerary texts may have been made on purpose to be hidden in the masonry of the foundations.

We shall find still stronger confirmations of this custom in texts of a late epoch, of the time of Ptolemy XIIIth. We read them in the temple of Denderah, in one of the crypts, on the walls of which are described some ceremonies which took place in various festivals, for instance, the festival called  "the festival of ebriety," and another about which we shall quote the text itself:




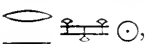
"In the coming forth of this goddess towards Edfoo,⁹ when she celebrates the festival of the navigation, a great offering is made of bulls and geese, and of all things good and pure towards this goddess, when this goddess arrives in her great boat Aamer: (this offering is made) by the highest prophets and priests of Hathor of Denderah; the attendants of the goddess are before this goddess (meaning the divine standards on poles which are carried before her), the hieroglyphicist stands before this goddess. All the prescribed ceremonies are performed to her during a festival of four days. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the two lands, Men-kheper-Ra, the son of Ra, the lord of diadems, Thothmes, made his monuments to his mother, Hathor, the lady of Denderah, the daughter of Ra, the lady of the sky and the queen of all the gods, when he had found the great rule of Denderah in ancient writings written on the skin of a goat in the time of the followers of Horus. *It was found*  *inside a wall of bricks of the southern house* of the time of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, Meri Ra, the son of Ra, the lord of diadems, Pepi."¹⁰



This inscription is very clear. Thothmes III is building at Denderah; he is probably renewing in stone what he had found in

⁹ DÜMICHEN, *Bauwerkunde*, Plates 15 and 16: BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, II, p. 509.

¹⁰ The inscription reads Pii, but the first cartouche leaves no doubt as to the king.

brick, as he tells us he did at Thebes, in the temple of Ptah, and in various other places.

Inside a brick wall are found old writings; this wall has been built under the reign of Pepi of the VIth dynasty. Here I differ from MARIETTE, DÜMICHEN, BIRCH, CHABAS, who all translate as though the discovery had taken place in the reign of Pepi. But the true interpretation is given by the inscription on the other side of the crypt, where we read, after a series of texts relating to ceremonies and festivals: "this is the great rule of Denderah. The reconstruction of the buildings was made by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands Men-kheper-Ra, the son of Ra, the lord of diadems, Thothmes, after it was found in old writings of the time of king Khufu." Here all Egyptologists agree that the date refers to the writings and not to the discovery. I see no reason why the same sense should not be given in the former inscription to the preposition . It is true that the word following  is not the same in both cases, this is quite natural. Old writing, an old style of writing, belongs to an epoch  which does not begin and end with a single king; therefore, the Egyptian writer speaks of old writings of the *time* of the followers of Horus, or of the *time* of the king Khufu: but the building of a wall has a definite date, and that is why the writer says that the wall of bricks belonged to the *reign* , of Pepi.

What is found hidden in the bricks of the wall is the  of Denderah. We have already met with the same word, which certainly means very often the act of founding, the foundation, the plan. Therefore DÜMICHEN translates the "foundation of Denderah." BIRCH also uses the word foundation, but in the sense of plan, which is also CHABAS' interpretation. One translator only seems to me to have hit upon the true sense, MARIETTE, who translates "la grande règle," the rule, the law of ceremonies, giving all the prescriptions as to the cult of the goddess. This seems by far the most probable sense to give to the word. The sentence comes after a long text giving the names and dates of the festivals, all the names of the goddess, and the prescriptions  which are to be followed, the figures and statues of the gods and the rites performed by the king. Surely this must be the *senti* of the goddess,

and there would be no reason for mentioning the foundation, the "plan," of the temple at that place. Therefore I should give here to the word the figurative sense which it has in other Ptolemaic texts. Both in the inscription of Canopus and the Rosetta stone the word *sentî* which is found in the hieroglyphic and demotic text is translated τὰ εἰθισμένα, "the customs," meaning those religious practices and rules to which their antiquity has given the force of law.

But whatever be the sense of the word *sentî*, whether it be the record of the foundation of the temple, the plan, or a religious code, the important point is that the writings which contained them were hidden in a wall so much more ancient than the time of Thothmes, that it could only belong to the foundations.

The writings were on a skin, evidently a kind of leather. The name of the animal from which it came, probably a goat, is uncertain; but we know from other texts that leather was used for documents which had to be preserved carefully, such as the lists of tributes of conquered nations. They were inscribed on skins deposited in the temples.

The writings are said to be very old; in one of the texts they are attributed to "the followers of Horus," in the other to the reign of Chufu. The first inscription would carry these writings as far back as the prehistoric times, the "followers of Horus" being the νέκυνες, whom I consider as the invaders from Arabia, who conquered the old Egyptian stock. The other inscription speaks of writings belonging to the reign of Khufu of the IVth dynasty. They may be the same writings, the discrepancy between the two texts arising from the fact of the Egyptians themselves not knowing exactly to whom the writings were to be attributed, since probably they could not read them very well.

Here, again, we would not put too much stress on the names, but insist rather on the most important fact to be gathered also from these texts, the custom of the Egyptians of putting books in the foundation walls, books which, in their hiding-place, could be preserved for centuries, and discovered only long after they had been deposited in the masonry. In one case the writing was a summary of a religious book, in the other it might have been a record of the foundation, a plan, or a code of ceremonial customs. These books were discovered by masons when the construction which contained them was rebuilt or restored.

Let us now turn from Egypt to Jerusalem, where we shall find

an example, the analogy of which with the Egyptian custom, is most striking. We read in 2 Chronicles xxxiv, 8 that in the eighteenth year of his reign Josiah sent Shaphan the scribe and two other officers *to repair the house of the Lord his God. Hilkiah, the high priest, had to pay the men, the workmen that had the oversight in the house of the Lord, and the workmen that wrought in the house of the Lord gave it to amend and repair the house; even to the carpenters and to the builders gave they it, to buy hewn stones and timber for couplings and to make beams . . . and the men did the work faithfully . . . And when they brought out the money that was brought into the house of the Lord, Hilkiah, the priest, found the book of the law of the Lord given by Moses.*¹¹ *And Hilkiah answered and said to Shaphan the scribe: I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord, and Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan, and Shaphan carried the book to the king . . . and Shaphan read therein before the king.*

The narrative in 2 Kings xxii, 6 is more abridged, except that, speaking of the workmen the text calls them carpenters, builders, and masons, who have to buy timber and hewn stone.

Now, I ask: is there not the greatest analogy between this text and that which was found at Denderah? Josiah makes considerable repairs in the temple, or as an Egyptian would say, he renews his buildings to the Lord. For that work he gathers carpenters, builders, and masons. The first thing they have to do is to use hewn stones for rebuilding walls which were in a very shaky state, since, as the text of 2 Kings says, they had breaches, probably from their old age. During that work the high priest finds the book of the law. Is it not natural to connect the two things and say that evidently the book came out of one of these old and falling walls which must have belonged to the foundations of the construction: for the foundations and the lower strata are the proper places for putting the hewn stone which is to replace less valuable material like bricks or common masonry. This is decidedly the Egyptian explanation of the passage, and there is no reason why in this matter the Hebrews should not have followed the same custom as the Egyptians, and why they should not have put a book which they particularly valued in the foundation wall of the temple. The foundation of the temple means the work of Solomon. So that I have no hesitation in giving to the passage this interpretation: in Josiah's time the book of the law

¹¹ Or, as the margin says, *by the hand of Moses.*

was discovered in the foundations of Solomon's construction. It may have come out of one of the breaches, or it fell into the temple with the stones and rubbish of the demolition, when Hilkiah picked it up; but the important point seems to me this: it was in a wall, in the masonry, and came out of it.


The majority of the critics have asserted that the book found by Hilkiah was Deuteronomy. As for the results at which they have arrived, I shall take as my guide Prof. DRIVER's admirable article on Deuteronomy. It certainly is striking how this simple fact of the book being in the foundations of Solomon's temple throws a peculiar light on Deuteronomy.

It explains to a certain degree the reason why it was written. It might have had a title similar to that of chapter 64 of the Book of the Dead put in the foundation of Hunnu: the books of the law in one book. It is a summary of all that was regarded as the law of Moses: an historical introduction describing the situation and occasion on which were pronounced his discourses which are his legislative work and embrace the covenant between the people and God; then comes Moses's farewell to the people, his blessing, and the circumstances of his death.

At the time when Solomon built his temple all these laws and facts, which perhaps had already for very long been in existence, might be scattered in various books or preserved by oral tradition. In order to be put in a foundation deposit, they must necessarily be collected, put together; it was, perhaps, the first occasion on which these laws were condensed and codified, and this explains how, originating from various sources, as Prof. DRIVER says: the body of the book is pervaded throughout by a single purpose and bears the marks of being the work of a single writer. And one can well imagine why, when Solomon raised the sanctuary which his father had not been allowed to build, he wished to put in the foundation a copy of the law including the book of the covenant, this charter on which rested the whole Hebrew state, and which, in its hiding-place of masonry, was to last as long as the architectural fabric, and was to be discovered intact by future generations.

And thus an outward fact, which is entirely out of the range of arguments which literary critics would consider, gives us a most important clue as to the date of the book. I believe this narrative of Chronicles and Kings shows that Deuteronomy is to be attributed to Solomon's time. I leave to the numerous scholars who make a

special study of the text of Scripture, to draw their own conclusions from this statement as to the age of the documents which were used for its composition.

Another point about which we can only make conjectures is that of the characters in which it was written. The expression which is found in the Hebrew text, "the law of the Lord by the hand of Moses," seems to indicate something which was considered as extremely old, like the Egyptian writings of the time of "the followers of Horus," and I should think it was old, not only by the date of its composition, but by the style of the writings. The first thing Hilki'ah, the high priest, does, is to hand the book to Shaphan, who is called the scribe. A Hebrew scribe סֹפֵר is very much the same as the Egyptian  *an*, a word which is generally translated "the scribe," or "the writer," but which means an official who has sufficient literary education to be able to be a recorder, a secretary, a registrar. It is Shaphan who reads the book to the king, probably because he could do it better than the high priest, although it seems that if any one should have been anxious to know the law of the Lord "by the hand of Moses," it must have been the high priest. But we must suppose either that his education was very imperfect, or that the writing used in Solomon's time was not familiar to him. The discovery of the tablets of Tell el Amarna and the recent excavations of Dr. WINCKLER, which have brought to light monuments of a later date, have raised such important questions as to the writing and language used in Western Asia, that we remain in the greatest uncertainty as to the earliest books of the Hebrews.





The more we study the life and history of the ancient nations of that part of the world, the better we recognize how the intercourse between them was much closer than was suspected some years ago. They knew what was done by their neighbours, and occasionally they would imitate them and even ask for their workmen. It seems quite natural that when building the temple, which was to be the centre of the religious and political life of his people, Solomon should have done as the Egyptians did, and put in the foundations the book of the law: thus following the custom of the greatest builders of his time.

THE TABLETS OF NEGADAH AND ABYDOS.






BY F. LEGGE.

(Continued from p. 154.)

No. 10.









The tablet here given was also found by Prof. PETRIE in his first year's search at Abydos, and seems to have been unbroken. I regret to say that with this, as with most of the smaller objects excavated by the Egypt Exploration Fund, no record accessible to subscribers has been kept of their destination, and that it is therefore impossible for me to discover where it is at present. In *Royal Tombs I* (p. 23), it is said to be of ivory, deeply cut, and with the inscription coloured in red and black, which goes to negative M. AMÉLINEAU's suggestion that the use of these two colours in **No. 8** is evidence of a palimpsest. It was evidently written, like **Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8**, with a "year-name," the sinister side of the tablet showing, directly under the usual hole for suspension, the three signs , , and , which M. NAVILLE has shown (*La Pierre de Palerme, Rec. de Trav.* XXV, p. 68) to mean a date, and which Dr. SCHÄFER (*Ein Bruchstück*, &c., p. 8) would read "the year of the adoration of Horus." It should be noticed that in this case the bark has a sign, which is probably the serrated or notched stick of the *Sed* festival, hanging from the high stem. Below this come three birds and a sign which Mr. GRIFFITH suggests may be the palace sign , this group meaning, according to him, "palace of the great ones" (*R.T. I*, p. 42). Below this again comes the figure of a cynocephalus or dog-headed baboon, seated in a chair and representing, on the same authority, the god Thoth (*loc. cit.*), having before him an erased sign which, Prof. PETRIE seems to think, represents balls of incense. The space occupied by the erasure seems to me to be too large to make




this probable, but I can make no alternative conjecture. Finally, under the baboon, comes what Mr. GRIFFITH (*loc. cit.*) speaks of as "another boat, containing a bird." It seems to me, however, to resemble more the standard with a perch on it bearing a hawk that we have seen on the carved slates of the Ist Dynasty, which was perhaps the *totem* or rallying sign of the royal tribe. The whole of this year-name is embraced within the large palm-leaf {, or *renpit* sign, on the one side, while on the other a dividing line, continued not quite to the top of the tablet, has plainly been added for the purpose of separating this part of the inscription from the rest. This abundantly bears out the idea that this part was really a "year-name." If we may make a guess at its meaning it may read, "In the year *Sches Hor*,¹ when the royal tribe met in the palace of the great ones [in the city of?] Thoth."

The dexter or left-hand side of the tablet enables us to establish with fair certainty the name of the king for whom it was made. Next to the dividing line, we find the *suten bat* formula, having underneath the vulture and uræus or *nebti* group, the two together making up the full royal protocol, which may be read, "King of the North and South, Lord of Diadems,"² known at the time of the Ist Dynasty. Underneath this comes the name of the king, here denoted by the curious human figure with an upright staff and kilt delineated by three horizontal lines, which seems to be identified with Manetho's Semempses, the seventh king of the Ist Dynasty, and probably denotes some such name as Semerkhet. Underneath this comes a hand scattering incense, probably completing the king's name by some laudatory epithet such as "sacrificer," or "worshipper of the gods." The extreme dexter side of the tablet is occupied by signs which, taking them as in the rest of the tablet from top to bottom, seem to be the hawk , and *khet*  signs, followed by the much erased enclosure , the two axes  and the *suten* plant  which we saw in the first tablet of Den (*P.S.B.A.*, 1907, pp. 104 and 152) meant the architects of the *Het suten* or enclosure of the

¹ The Palermo Stone shows that this date, whatever it was, recurred at regular intervals, probably of two years.

² See MORET, *Royaume Pharaonique*, pp. 28-30. The meaning of the *nebti* is shown by the Greek Inscription at Philæ: *κύριος βασιλειῶν*.

King of Upper Egypt. Under this comes a fragment of the formula showing only the lion's forepart , the vase , and the *tep* , which here means apparently the ordinal number "first." Signs which may be  and  follow. Are these the beginnings of a proper name? I cannot say; Mr. GRIFFITH's and Prof. PETRIE's attempt to force them into   , so as to form the name Henuka, not being, from what I can see, borne out by the remains of the signs themselves. Below this come two, or perhaps three signs, which have become erased by attrition. One of them looks as if it may have been a sledge, but I do not think they afford any solid ground for conjecture.

If the reader is satisfied with what I have before said with regard to the formula, he will probably agree with me that at the date of this tablet its true form had become either forgotten or so severely conventionalized that a very faint indication was sufficient to recall it to the memory of those who saw it.³ If we may consider the  and  to have been intended to follow after the , but to have been displaced to the top of the tablet for convenience sake, we might perhaps restore it thus:—















reading like **No. 5.** I admit, however, that this is rather daring, and perhaps it would be better to read the whole tablet thus: "In the year Sches Hor, when the royal tribe met in the palace of the great ones [in the city of Thoth]. At the first foundation of *Het suten*, [in the reign of the] King of the North and South, Lord of Diadems, Semerkhet, [when] the royal architects were and the Horus [gave to the temple] measures of wood and jars of wine."

No. II.

This fragment, which also comes from Prof. PETRIE's excavations at Abydos, is said, in *R.T.* I (p. 23), to have been found "on the east of the tomb of Qa." It is there said to be of ivory, and I










³ The use of S.P.Q.R. (Senatus populusque Romanus) and D.G. (Dei gratia) are cases in point.



cannot discover where it is at present. It also bears a year-name, the fragment remaining clearly showing the hole for suspension, the *renpit* { , hawk  ,  , and  signs, and the dividing line, which show that this part of the tablet should read like the last: "In the year Sches Hor" On the dexter side we have a hawk-crowned rectangle, or *srekh*, containing the name , which was at first read *Qa*, but which we are now told should be read either *Qebh* or *Qobuha*, and be identified with Bieneches, or the eighth king of Manetho. I have already gone into this matter in another article (*P.S.B.A.*, 1904, pp. 138, 139) and see nothing to alter in the conclusions that I then came to. To the right of this comes the *nebti* group bearing underneath a sign which Mr. GRIFFITH (*R.T.* I, p. 43) and Prof. PETRIE (*idem*, p. 23) would read , and would make into a new royal name *Sen*. Dr. NAVILLE's contention, mentioned in my former article (*P.S.B.A.*, 1904, *ubi cit.*), that the vulture and uraeus in this case are turned towards, and not away from the *srekh*, and must therefore form part of the name of a worshipper of the king's divinity, and not of the king himself, still holds good, and we may therefore suppose that this group contains the proper name *sennebti*. The other signs on the tablet are an eye , the place sign , the bolt , loaf  (twice), reed , axe , and one which Mr. GRIFFITH thinks is the . He translates these as "Doing things,⁴ distinguishing (?) royal axe-maker." This seems highly doubtful in the absence of the context. There is also to be seen on the tablet the representation of a four-footed animal, perhaps a jackal, which does not fit in very well with this reading.

No. 12.






Is a complete tablet which may be referred to the same reign. It is of ivory, very badly weathered, and is said by Prof. PETRIE (*R.T.* II, p. 26) to have been "picked up from the loose rubbish that had been thrown out of the tombs." Its reverse bears an inscription which appears to be a note by a later hand. Its obverse bears, like the **Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11**, a "year-name," though the events depicted within the *renpit* sign are quite unintelligible to me,

⁴ Perhaps "making ceremonies," a phrase which MORET (R.P.) notes.

and, as the signs are all fairly well-known, there seems no use in recapitulating them here. The dexter side of the tablet is interesting, as it gives under the *nebti* group, turned about so as to face the royal *srekh* as in **No. 11**, what appears to me to be no variant of that given in the last-named tablet, but an entirely new name. It is, perhaps, possible that of the two signs which come directly under the *nebti*, the left-hand or dexter one is  or , although neither sign has, so far as I know, been met with in these early moments. But it is quite evident that it is not the barbed spear or trident forming part of the name *sennubti*, which, as anyone can see from an inspection of **No. 11**, has an especially long handle or shaft, whereas in the present tablet there is neither a handle nor any room for one. In the same way, it requires a very lively faith to see in the sign by its side the nose or  which Prof. PETRIE's speculations on the subject require; and even if this, too, could be supposed, we should have to look in vain for the water sign  which he wants to complete the name *Sen* which he here wishes to see. It should be noted also that Mr. GRIFFITH gives him no support in his reading of this passage. As to what the two signs really are it seems impossible to guess; but the two which follow immediately underneath are clearly the beginning of the formula  which appears so clearly in **No. 10**, and which we shall refer to again in a later example. Underneath this comes a basket with a handle , and finally an upright figure, which is probably meant, as in **No. 10**, for a . In this case it is tempting to see in these four signs some variant of the formula which appears in these later tablets, as . This last sign, which appears in **No. 10** but cannot be found in the tablet before us, may possibly have some connection with the vegetable sign which I have taken as the equivalent of  in the Aha tablets.⁵

The next row of the tablet presents little difficulty, because we have already seen all the groups contained in it before. At the head of the row stands the hawk-crowned rectangle, or *srekh*, containing the two signs  , which make up the name of *Qa*, *Kebh*, or *Qobuha*. Below this is the enclosure containing the *suten* plant which we have seen in **No. 5** and **No. 8**, but which, this time,

⁵ See especially **No. 2** and p. 23, *P.S.B.A.*, 1907.

appears to hold a hawk, and, perhaps, a loaf  as well. If Mr. GRIFFITH was right, as he appears to be, in reading this group when written , *Het-suten*, or the Residence of the King of Upper Egypt, the presence of the Horus-hawk, emblem of the king, ought to make no difference to the reading. Below this again comes the enclosure with the figure of a man pounding, which in **No. 5** is above, and not below, the *Het-suten* enclosure. In this instance it is without the *nub* sign  which led Mr. GRIFFITH, when studying **No. 5**, to consider it as meaning "governor of the city of Het-nub"; and, as this reading must now be abandoned, the significance of the man pounding becomes a mystery. On the dexter side of the row of enclosures comes a vertical row of signs beginning with the *suten* plant, and followed by two or three others which Prof. PETRIE boldly assumes to be   *suten mabti*, or, "the royal architects." This seems to me extremely doubtful, and I do not know that anything more than the first sign can be clearly distinguished. Below this again come three signs which, if the above suggestion be correct, probably made up the name or names of the *suten mabti*. I can make nothing of them, but they certainly are not those of Sennebti or Hemaka.




Generally, we may read this tablet as setting forth that in a year with some illegible characteristic, the Horus Qa or Qobuha, or perhaps the architect of the palace of Het-suten, made certain gifts. Into the name of the last-named functionary, the syllables *nebti* seem to have entered.

This completes, with two exceptions,⁶ all the tablets found at Negadah or Abydos which can with any reasonable certainty be attributed to the reign of any particular king. But there are some fragments which no doubt might have been so dated had they been complete, and I have added these to the paper in order to make it as complete as possible. They will fortunately require only very









⁶ These exceptions are the fragments of ebony tablets given on Pl. iii, figs. 2 and 4 of *Royal Tombs*, II. They both clearly contain the hawk-crowned *srekh* of Aha, and one of them bears the traces of a city cartouche as well. The other signs, such as the Anubis-jackal, the *mesek* skin on a pole, and a hawk on a perch borne as standard, are all familiar to us, and seem to refer to funeral ceremonies. But they throw no additional light on these last, and I have, therefore, reproduced them without comment as **Nos. 13** and **14**.

brief explanations, but sometimes form valuable links between two apparently different classes of tablets.











No. 15.

This is a small fragment found at Abydos, which at one time must have much resembled **No. 12**. The dividing line shows that it once had a "year-name," and on the dexter side a *srekh* with an illegible name which does not seem to be *Qa*, and probably the enclosure with the man pounding underneath. The middle part is too much worn to be legible, with the exception of the commencement of the formula which can be distinctly seen as  , "or first foundation." Below are two signs, one of which may be the staircase .

No. 16.

This fragment, of the same provenance as the last, also has preserved for us a part of the formula. Under the signs , , , and , of which I can make nothing without the context, there comes the familiar group   , which I have read, "The Horus gave to the temple," and by the side the remains of a large , or *shai*, doubtless once recording the number of the gifts.

No. 17.

Is said to have been found in "the tomb of *Qa*" at Abydos, and the broken *srekh*, of which only the lower part is left, probably once contained the hawk-name of that king. The sinister register which probably once contained a year-name is illegible, but that next to it clearly shows below the *srekh* some fragments of the formula, among which we may read , , , , , and perhaps . This part also contains another sign like *khet*, and perhaps a water sign . To the dexter side of this appears what seems to be an enclosure containing quite clearly the signs   , which Mr. Griffith, as I have said, makes into a proper name and reads Henuka.

Having thus finished the description of these monuments, let me again point out that the one common factor which appears in all of them is what I have called "the formula" beginning with the lion's forepart, which actually appears in all that are complete, and which we may therefore conclude with great confidence was to be found in the missing part of those that are fragmentary. The numerals with which it is generally accompanied show that it relates to numbers of something, and the frequent scenes to which it is a pendant in the earlier examples show that it had something to do with festivals. That the construction I have had to put upon it, in some instances, is purely conjectural I have never disguised: and it has seemed to me that this was a likelier way of arriving at the truth than trying to construe, according to preconceived notions of grammar, disconnected signs or pictures which very possibly never had any grammatical meaning at all. Yet the meaning which I have sometimes rather forced upon the formula has always proved to be consistent with the scenes depicted upon the tablets, and this seems to me very cogent evidence that it is the right one. I therefore venture to recall the assertion with which I began this paper, to the effect that these tablets were records, and that "the events that they were meant to record were the royal gifts to temples or other religious foundations, or the occasion of certain festivals." I further submit that I have proved my case.

ERRATUM.

"NOTES ON SOME EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES."

Page 176. In the description of Plate II, fig. 4. For *Heliopolis* read *Denderah*.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, November 13th, 1907, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

E. R. Ayrton, Esq.: "The Tomb of Thiy, at Thebes."

With Lantern-slide Illustrations.

PLATE I.



No. 10.

From *Royal Tombs*, I, Pl. xii, fig. 1.



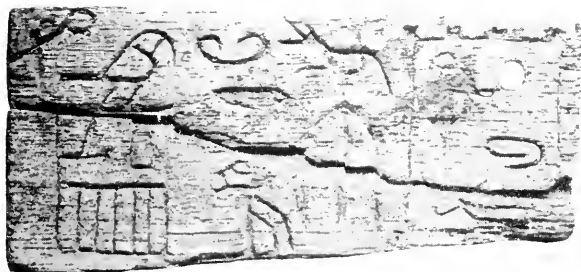
No. 11.

From *Royal Tombs*, I, Pl. vii, fig. 2.



No. 12.

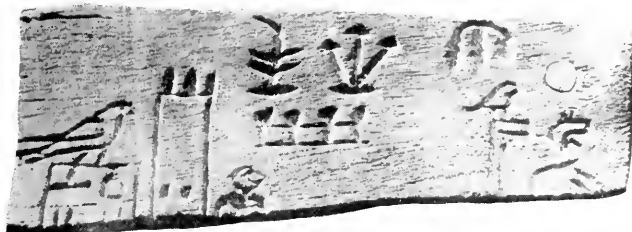
From *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. viii, fig. 3.



No. 13.

From *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. iii, fig. 2.

PLATE II.



No. 14.

From *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. iii, fig. 4.



No. 15.

From *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. viii, fig. 2.



No. 16.

From *Royal Tombs*, I, Pl. xi, fig. 6.



No. 17.

From *Royal Tombs*, I, Pl. xi, fig. 12.



PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION, 1907.

Sixth Meeting, November 13th, 1907.

F. LEGGE, Esq.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Publisher.—“Gordon’s Tomb, and Golgotha.” By A. W. Crawley-Boevey, *M.A.*

From the Author, Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann.—“Das Siegesdenkmal des Königs Scheschonk I.”

From R. Mond, Esq.—“Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assouan.” By A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley.

From the Author, Prof. J. Capart.—“Chambre funéraire de la sixième dynastie.”

From the Author, M. T. Smolenski.—“L’état actuel des recherches égyptologiques.”

From the Author, Dr. P. J. Hoschander.—“Die Personnamen auf dem Obelisk des Manišusu.”

From the Author, Prof. H. V. Hilprecht.—“Die Stellung des Königs *Ura-imitti* in der Geschichte.”

From Dr. Smolenski.—“Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian Literature.” By Juliana Świącickiego. (*Printed in Polish.*)

From the Translator.—“La Religion Égyptienne.” By A. Erman. Translated into French by C. Vidal.

Purchased for the Library :—

“Découvertes en Chaldée.” By E. de Sarzec. In Nine Parts, *folio*.

Rev. Dr. Olaf A. Tofteen,

Rev. Prof. R. W. Rogers,

S. E. Loxton, Esq.,

R. Mond, Esq.,

were elected Members of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—


E. R. AYRTON, Esq.: “The Tomb of Thyī at Thebes.”
With Lantern-slide Illustrations.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS:





THE METHOD, VERIFICATION, AND RESULTS
OF MY DECIPHERMENT OF THEM.BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*

(Continued from p. 213.)

The name of Hamath is written in various ways, owing, no doubt, to the fact that it was of Semitic origin, and the Hittites found some difficulty in reproducing it. The fact, however, is fortunate for us, as it gives us the values of several fresh characters and confirms the value attached to , since in one place we have *am-ma-ta*, the *ta* being expressed by the depressed hand.⁵ Other values again were furnished by the inscription on the Mer'ash Lion. The name of Mer'ash is written *Markhasi* in the Assyrian inscriptions, and we have, therefore, to discover among the territorial titles of the Mer'ash king one in which the fourth character—or the third, supposing the first character to represent the closed syllable *mar*—is that which in the name of Carchemish has the value of *si*. Such a title occurs four times in the inscription, and since in two cases the first character is that which we have found to be *ma* in the name of Hamath, we are justified in concluding that we have here the name of Mer'ash, and that the second and third characters represent respectively *ar* and *gha*.









The geographical names have thus given me my starting point in Hittite decipherment. But the values of many of the characters have been arrived at through their interchanging with other characters, the values of which had been already discovered. We

⁵ Ideographically the depressed hand, which signifies "sacred," had other values. In M. III, 1, we should probably read *nunu-me-s*; see note 10.

find , for instance, interchanging with *me*,⁶ and the whip  with *s*. The name of Tyana first gave me the geographical names of the Uanatu or Veneti and the land of Uan or Uin, which took its name from the sacred tree called *uan* (*uin*) in the Egyptian inscriptions. This led on to the discovery that the upright or oblique line—the numeral *u*—was not a sentence-divider as I had supposed, but the vowel *ü*, that the boot was *ui* (more rarely *ü*), and that  and  were not *ra* and *ras* but *ua* and *uas* (also *ui* and *uis*).

The determination of the phonetic values of the characters, however, constitutes but one-half of a system of decipherment in the case of hieroglyphic signs. Along with it must go the determination of their ideographic values: in other words, of the objects which the characters represent. This is by no means so easy a matter as it might appear, since the Hittite characters as we know them have already passed into a hieratic or conventional stage. With the help, however, of variants, of the clues furnished by the context, and above all, of comparison with the scenes and figures on Hittite monuments, I have now succeeded in making out the larger number of them. Several of the ideographs are used as determinatives; in many instances the phonetic equivalent of the word either accompanies the ideograph or replaces it in a parallel text.

Such is a brief account of my method of decipherment and the bases from which it starts. I must now pass on to its verification.

⁶  was *mi*, and the Hittite cuneiform texts show that it must be so read before *a* and not simply *m* as I had supposed. Thus    corresponds with the cuneiform *u-e-mi-ya*. The name of Carchemish proves that  also had the value of *mi*; in the Hittite cuneiform texts it is represented by  when used as a suffix after the geographical name; *Mizris-me*, for instance, answering to *Kas-uis*. . I now think it more probable that the name of Syria, written *Mur-ru* in the Boghaz Keui cuneiform texts, should be read *Mi-Mi-ur* (i.e. *Mur*) rather than *Am-mi-ur*. However,  sometimes had the value of *mu*, though *u* was generally attached to it when this was the case. In M. VI, 2, the reading is *M(t-jur-ai-is-mi* (*Müräis-mu*) "the Syrian."

This use of *-mi* and *-mia* (as in *Kar-ka-mi-is-mi-a*, M. XI, 2) goes to show that in the Hamath Inscription, M. IV. A 2, the first *nas* (before *mi-a*) is not the gentile suffix as I have hitherto supposed, but the end of a name terminating in *n*. Consequently the spear-head or dagger will not form part of the name, but be the accusative after the verb, like *qu*, "sculptures," and *masā-na*, "seal," in the two parallel texts. Hence we must read "a dagger I the Hittite of Ka-a-na-na(s) have made in the temple of this land" (*mi-mi-a*) Kānana can hardly be anything else than Canaan!

In the first place, the results are in accordance with common-sense. The contents of the inscriptions turn out to be what we should expect them to be, and what the analogy of other inscriptions of a similar nature would require. Thus the inscription on the stone bowl from Babylon runs: "I, Si(?)⁷-Tarku, have made this bowl for the men of the king's land in the temple of the god Sanduas, being governor of this people (?)⁷; providing drinking vessels (*a-si-mi i-uis* as at Ivriz, *Proc. S.B.A.*, May, 1906, p. 134, where we should read *a-si-mi-u-ta a-si-mi-tu*, "in the water-channel this water-channel")⁸ for the temple of the god of Carchemish the son of Khalmia (*i.e.*, the Akhlamite), I have made this work of stone." The other inscriptions for the most part contain accounts of building or restoration, the setting up of sacred stones and other religious symbols, references to the gods, and a limited number of titles, partly civil and partly religious.

Secondly, we find the right geographical names in the inscriptions in which they ought to occur, Tyana at Tyana, Hamath at Hamath, Carchemish at Carchemish, Marghasi at Mer'ash. In each case, moreover, the reading of the names follows necessarily from the values assigned to the characters composing them. Where the same syllabic character is required in two different names we find it exactly in the place where it ought to be, *si* after *Karkami* in the adjective "Carchemisian," and as the fourth character in the name of Marghasi, *ma* as the first character in the latter name and the second character in that of Hamath.⁹ Perhaps the most striking

⁷ This seems the most probable translation. I was wrong in correcting Messerschmidt's goat's head (*is*) into the sheep's head (*ur*) in the second word, which is therefore identical with *ami-s-mi-amis* at Tyana (M. XXXIII, A 2). It will be seen that I have been able to improve on the translation of the inscription I have given in *Proceedings*, S.B.A., Nov. 1905, p. 192.

⁸ In this Ivriz inscription *ta* probably has to be supplied before *ba*, and the sheep's head should be the head of the goat, so that we should have *u-is-su-ui* [*Ta*]*ba-lu-is-mi id-amun* (?) "I have erected, being a Tabalian, for the Sun-god." Hence the translation of the whole text will be, "These sculptures (*quís*) executing, I have erected, being a Tabalian, for the Sun-god; in the water-basin of the son of Auminuas making this basin I the king have made (it) for the god." The character *qa*, *qu*, represents a graving tool.

⁹ I ought to mention here that the Mer'ash name I have hitherto read "Kalkasu," must be "Nu-kasu," since I can find no example in which the character *nu* is used with the phonetic value *ka*. Nukasu so closely resembles the Nugas of the Egyptian texts as to make me ask whether the latter were not in the neighbourhood of Mer'ash rather than of the Lebanon, as is usually supposed. At all events, Harankal, with which it is coupled, is the Kharankal, "Fortress," of the cuneiform texts,—a name which refers us to the Hittite region.

verification of my system of decipherment is the fact that I could not find in the Bulgar Maden inscription the name of the city Kybistra, which I expected to be there, but did find in place of it the name of "the city of the god Sandon" (*Sanduan-uís*). Sandon was identified by the Greeks with Héraklēs, from whom Kybistra received the name of Herakleia, and since the modern name of the place is Eregli, it is plain that this, and not Kybistra, was the ordinary designation of the town.

Thirdly, the proper names prove to be of a Hittite stamp. The father of one of the Carchemish kings is Mutallis; the king commemorated in the inscription from Babylon is Tuatues. The high-priests of Carchemish call themselves Khalmiame(s) or Khalamme(s),¹⁰ "the people of the goddess Khalmia"; in Assyrian this would appear as Akhlammê, like Urša for the Vannic Rušas, and it is precisely the Akhlammê who are described by Tiglath-pileser I as the inhabitants of the district of which Carchemish was the capital. I should add that the epithet was long a puzzle to me, and that it was only by accident, when I was re-reading the Annals of Tiglath-pileser I, that the identification flashed across me.¹¹

Fourthly, the decipherment furnishes us with a consistent system of grammar, which agrees with that of the Arzawan and Boghaz Keui cuneiform tablets.

¹⁰ This is the singular; the plural would be Khalammia.

¹¹ Similarly we have Sandu-ar-na at Izgin (M. XIX, B. 3.), like the Luba-arna of the Assyrian texts, Lula-urna at Abu-Simbel. At Izgin also we find Katu-zil (B. 16), the name of a king of Kummukh in 858 B.C., the last syllable being denoted by three seeds. Hence the name appears to mean "the seed of the god Katu." I have long since shown that it is a formation similar to the Sapa-zil of the Egyptian texts, just as I was the first to point out, in my Paper on the "Monuments of the Hittites" in 1881, that the name read Mauthenara by the Egyptologists should be Mutal, and was identical with the Mutallu of the cuneiform inscriptions. With *zil* cp. the Lydian *zul*, which signifies "son," according to Thomsen. Another proper name brought to light by my decipherment exactly where we should expect it, is the Mamis of the Ardistama inscription,—a name which is characteristic of the district to which the inscription belongs.

As for Khalmia or Khalma—the name means "the Khalian,"—it occurs in the last line of the Bulgar Maden text (M. XXXII, 5), which I was unable to explain in my Paper on the Hittite inscriptions. I can do so now, however. We have to read (4) *na-ûi-i* D.P. *Ana-ûi mi-ûi(?) -is-na-'s*-D.A. *i-ûis-i-is-û-i amiss-a San-du-uan-ûi-ûi-s-ûi*-D.A. D.P. *uan-ûi Tua-?* ID. *nu-nû-i nu ID-amumu-uan ID-amumu-uan* (6) *a-AMUN-ius na-ûi-is a-na-ûis UN-na-ûis a-si-is AMMA-a-i ui-mi-a-ûis*-D.A. *ta-gha-ûis kui-s* ID. *yu . . . a-mi-[is-mi]-juin* D.P. *Sandu-ûi*

Fifthly, the results agree with what we have been able to learn of the Hittite language from the cuneiform tablets of Arzawa and Boghaz Keui, and with an increasing knowledge of the vowel sounds expressed by the characters the agreement continually becomes greater. Thus *ua-mi-a* or *ui-mi-a* is the cuneiform *u-e-mi-ya*, and the Arzawan prepositions *kasma* and *nû* recur as *kasuma*, or *kasma*, and *nû*. Still more striking is the verification of my results in the case of one of the geographical names which Professor WINCKLER has just discovered in the Boghaz Keui cuneiform tablets. The name of the district in which the Fraktin inscription is found is written Ara-i-un-na, if my system of decipherment is right. In the Annals of Tiglath-pileser I the name appears as Arinna, as it does also in one of the tablets brought by M. CHANTRE from Boghaz Keui itself. I have therefore questioned the correctness of the vowel sounds I found myself compelled to attach to the characters composing the name, though I did not see how to change them. Now Prof. WINCKLER tells us that in a tablet of Khattu-sili the name is written A-ra-u-un-na! The *i* of the hieroglyphic texts explains how the form Arinna came into existence. In the same way Prof. WINCKLER's tablets confirm my explanation of the characters 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 in the cuneiform legend on the seal of Tarkondêmos, which was necessitated by my decipherment of their Hittite equivalents, though it ran counter to the opinion of other Assyriologists.

Sixthly, the political situation, with its priest-kings, as well as the religious cult and theological conceptions disclosed by the decipherment, are in striking accordance with the results obtained by Sir W. M. RAMSAY upon other grounds.

Seventhly, and lastly, the decipherment has been progressive, one discovery completing and leading on to another, or else correcting or modifying errors and inaccurate conclusions. With the increase of

UN-na-*ui-mi* 1D. *Katû-tua* D.P. *Khal-mi-a-uin-MI* UN-na-*ka-tu*-KATU-*mi-s-mi*-[a-]UAN-D.A. 1D-tu D.P. *Khal-mi-a* 1D. 1D-*i*; "(erecting stelæ) . . . to the name (?) of the god Ana I of the land of Muis (?) for the god of the temples of the city of Sandon, the Tyanian, have offered sacrifice (or dedicated an altar) to the two Sun-gods, making the inscribed (?) royal, divine sacred stones, belonging to the Sun, the boundaries of the people of this land, (one being) the citizens' gate of . . . the place of the god Sandes, and the (other the) gate of Katu, the place of the goddess Khalmia, the goddess of the Kataonians. As thy royalty, O Khalmia, the silver I have set apart (?)." By "royalty" I have rendered the ideograph which represents a ball of metal poured out of a scoop into an open hand. *Nani* seems to mean "inscription."

trustworthy materials the certain has been made more certain, and the probable or possible confirmed or corrected. And the ultimate test of the soundness of a system of decipherment is that it should thus contain within itself the seeds of a natural progress.

But there is still very much to be done. I have had to work alone; no other scholar has come to my assistance, and in such matters two brains are always better than one.¹² Our materials,

¹² Thus, for example, I failed to understand the final paragraph of the Tyana inscription, which I published in the *Proceedings*, March, 1906, Plate III, Fig. 3. It reads from left to right, and is: ID.-a-na nū-i-is mu-mu-i na(?)-mi-s tua D.P. San-du-ūi, "afterwards (?) dedicating nine horses to the chariot of Sandes," where perhaps the first word is intended for the Assyrian *pāna*. If I am right in identifying the character which represents harness with that which has the value of *na*, there would be a word *namis*, signifying "horse," by the side of *yawwis*. I think *mumui*, "nine," is also found at Bulgar Maden (M. XXXII, 3), *qu-ID.-D.A. mu-mi-uin-ūi uis-uis*, "erecting a stela to the 9 gods (?)," or "to the gate of the Nine (?)," since in M. VII, i, 1, 2, the suffix *-nūi* denotes "gate."

It will be noticed that five of the Hittite numerals are now known: *ū*, "one"; *kas*, "three"; *mi*, "four"; *mumui*, "nine"; and *ka*, "one hundred"; to which we may add the Arzawan *iskhani*, "seven."

Another illustration of the difficulty of seeing the obvious without the help of a second pair of eyes is the word *nunu*, which I have supposed to signify "great." It means, however, "sacred," and is connected with *nu-na-s*, "priest" (M. XXXII, 1), my comprehension of which was obscured by my false reading *kalu* instead of *nu*. The priest's apron, I now find, is always *nu*, when the character is used phonetically. Hence in M. IX, 2, 5, we have *aba-nūs* and *aba-nūn*, "high-priest," which is a synonym of *aba-kali(nis)* in M. XI, 3, and not another form of the same word; in M. XI, 5, we must read D.P. *nū-uis*; and in M. XI, 4 *KAL*-(or perhaps D.P.)*li nu-ni*, "the consecrated priest." In M. XXIII, C, 1, *nu* in *nu-uis-s* is placed within a rope. It would seem from this inscription that *nūwi* is rather "I dedicated" than the simple "I gave," so that *nus* in the Yuzgāt tablet is "consecrated gifts" rather than "gifts." By the side of *nu* we have the reduplicated *nunu*, as in the Erzerūm inscription. This form brings us to the adjective *nunu*, which is given in M. XXI, 6 as the equivalent of the depressed hand (*ta*) when the latter is used as an ideograph (ID.-*nu-nu-uis*, "sacred [altars].") In M. XXIII, A, 3, 4, besides the ideograph of the depressed hand, we have the picture of a hand with a ring on the thumb and finger. Hence we may conclude that not only laying the hand on a person or object denoted his or its consecration, but also that the consecrated person wore the two rings pictured in the ideograph. Probably they represented the two small bronze cymbals worn by the dancing girls of Egypt on the thumb and second finger; a picture of these latter would have exactly the form of the Hittite ideograph. On the Obelisk of Izgīn (M. XIX) a derived Hittite adjective is denoted by the ideograph of the ringed hand, with the phonetic complement *na* (*nun-na-i-us*),

which is followed by the determinative of a hand holding an instrument



moreover, are still very defective. And I am but just beginning to learn the laws which regulated the representation of the vowels.


The characters are probably but a selection from a pictorial system which was originally of considerable extent. The appropriation of some of them to express phonetic values was, I believe, due to the influence of the cuneiform syllabary, which is also traceable in other directions. The civilization of their inventors may be gathered from an examination of the objects represented by them.

Sir W. M. RAMSAY has pointed out that they must have been invented on the Cappadocian plateau—a conclusion, indeed, to which I also came in the early days of my Hittite studies. The conclusion can now be supported linguistically. *Tua* meant “chariot,” and was denoted sometimes by a picture of the body of a chariot, sometimes by the picture of a wheel, both of which had the phonetic value *tua* or *tu*.¹³ Now *Tua-na* (Tyana) was “the chariot-town,” and since Tyana was in the Cilician or Cappadocian plain, it follows that the speakers of the Hittite language and the inventors of the Hittite system of writing were inhabitants of this part of Asia Minor.

The fact that the word for “chariot” could be denoted by two different characters, brings me to the last remark which I have to make. A peculiarity of Hittite script was that the part represented the whole. The head of an animal or man, for instance, represented the animal or man himself. Hence more than one character could be used to express a word or phonetic value; just as the wheel and the body of the chariot are alike *tua*, “a chariot,” so the heads of a goat and kid are alike *is*, “a goat,” and the heads of the ox and heifer, as well as a pair of horns, are alike *amu* or *ama*, “an ox.”

POSTSCRIPT.

Dr. MESSERSCHMIDT has just published an inscription from Nigdeh (*Corpus Inscriptionum Hittitarum*, liii) which ought to convince the most sceptical of the soundness of my system of decipherment. It is on the base of a column, and reads, if my system of decipherment is right: *ui-uis-a asi-uin s-it(u) a-na's i-us-i-ta D.P.-mi-s kasu-'s*, “this stone has the king erected in the temple, being a man of Kas.”

¹³ , which also has the value of *tua*, seems to be another mode of representing the body of a chariot, with a spear erected in the middle and perhaps two other spears at either end.

AN ARAMAIC PAPYRUS OF THE PTOLEMAIC AGE
FROM EGYPT.BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*, AND A. COWLEY, *M.A.*

The papyrus, of which a facsimile accompanies this Paper, was acquired by me at Luxor, in January, 1906, along with five other small Aramaic fragments belonging to a different document or documents, as well as fragments of Demotic, Greek and Arabic papyri. One of the Demotic fragments is pronounced by Mr. GRIFFITH to be the commencement of a theological text. The dealer from whom I bought the papyri had obtained them from a native of Qûs, where he believed they had been found. In any case, they were not derived from Elephantine, and their Theban origin is made probable by the word **בטבה** in one of the smaller fragments, and what seems to be **לִט(ב)ה** in the papyrus itself (*d.* 1). On palæographical grounds I should assign the papyrus and smaller fragments to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C., a period not otherwise represented by an Aramaic papyrus.

Mr. COWLEY has dealt very fully with the palæographical peculiarities and difficulties of the text over which he has spent hours of patient labour. To me its chief interest lies in the proper names which illustrate the early attempts of the Egyptian Jews to transliterate Greek words, and throw light on the pronunciation of both Aramaic and Greek. On the lexicographical side it contributes a few new words to the lexicon. But its main importance will doubtless be considered to reside in its contributions to metrology, and the abbreviations of which it is full are likely to give employment to Semitic metrologists for some time to come. In general character the papyrus resembles the papyri or wooden tablets containing the private accounts of Greek residents in Egypt, of which I possess several.

- a. 1. השבן, "the account." The reading of the next word, which seems to be a proper name, is unfortunately uncertain. We may translate: "the accounts of Anqâ (?) which I have written [relating to the property] of his father." אביהי like אחוריהי in the Assuan papyri.
2. "They have paid out of the property of Zechariah 1 seah and a quarter of wheat."
3. The name of Shabûth, "the daughter of Obadiah Nathan," is written Shabtî in l. 9. *Obadiah Nathan* for *Obadiah bar Nathan* illustrates the usage of the Jewish seals. The symbol which follows the numeral 5 must represent a fraction, and since we find only \swarrow , \searrow , and 𐤔 (see note on i. 4) they must stand respectively for $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$. The final η may represent some further fraction; in f. 3, &c., it seems to follow the numeral 1.
4. 𐤔 must stand for *artaba*: "12 ardebs of wheat."
5. 𐤁𐤁 must signify "on account of"; i. 1 would appear to indicate that it is an abbreviation of 𐤁𐤁𐤓 . The name is Arsinoê.
8. "[From Sim]eon 2 *garbas*: Yahnun the priest, 1 *garba*."
9. "Shabtî Yashibh," i.e., "Shabti, daughter of Yashibh," was a different person from the Shabtith of l. 3, though the names are the same. Notice the dual 𐤒𐤁𐤓 .
10. Haggai Diaphoros (?). Is this a Greek name, or a compound of 𐤒 and 𐤑𐤓 ?
12. 𐤒𐤓 , perhaps the *gêra* of 16 grs. Troy.
- b. 1. "The deeds are in the hand of Jonathan and myself."
2. "Simeon, son of Haggai, has (come up to, i.e.,) joined our partnership." 𐤁𐤓 , which occurs again (f. 1), can hardly have any other meaning; cp. 𐤁𐤓𐤓 in the sense of "side," and 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 = Heb. לפנינו.
3. 𐤔𐤁𐤓𐤓 is probably a different spelling of the name 𐤔𐤁𐤓 .
"For 40 *homers*?"
4. "For 12 *kebhasin*." The spelling here would indicate that we should read *kebhesht*, and not 𐤁𐤓𐤓 , in the Assuan papyri. Cp., however, i. 4.
5. 𐤔 stands for "shekels."
6. The *szusa*, or quarter-shekel, was equal to about a shilling. What particular fraction is denoted by the last sign is difficult to say; we find it again in l. 9.

7. For the Babylonian coin called *khalluru*, see *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, pp. 21, etc.
8. "And for 12 months." But what is the signification of סדרל ? Cp. *c.* 14.
11. "On her own account": see above, note on *a.* 5.
- c.* 3. "A coating (?) of silver, 10, and 2 rings (?) of silver."
4. If י in וינא is part of the word, and not the copulative conjunction, *waszika* would look like a Persian word.
5. לִי and לָנוּ , "mine" and "our," as in the Assuan papyri.
6. מלל , perhaps "the cheap one."
8. ר may represent רבע , hardly the ראש of *i.* 2.
9. "An instrument of bronze."
11. Cp. *i.* 3, 4. "The wine which they have given he has given to me (?) for a year."
12. "In Thmuis," or some similar geographical name. "Two *garbas* of vinegar."
13. "A small shadûf-bucket [for] the garden for $42\frac{3}{4}$ b[ekas]." ל has been omitted.
- d.* 1. "To Thebes," a transliteration into Aramaic of the Greek $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\iota$.
- e.* 5. Hargelti is a proper name; see *g.* 13.
- f.* 1. "The four in our partnership"; see above, *b.* 2.
3. "Nikias, $2\frac{3}{4}$ logs." The log is usually reckoned as equivalent to 0.675 pint.
5. The Greek Apollonios.
6. In *h.* 5, 14, the name is written וינא , "the Greek," thus throwing light on the name Yanias.
- g.* 11. The Greek Isidoros.
12. Probably Poros.
14. The Greek Lysimachos.
16. More probably Doros than Diodoros.
- h.* 4. A mistake for ניס , Nikias.
16. The form סנא may show that סא is the full name of the measure.
17. We seem to have here a transliteration of the Hellenized Egyptian Armais (Hor-m-heb).

- i. 1. "On account of Yashibh there is wanting in your account $2\frac{1}{2}$ " (?).
2. מלעתין seems to be a derivative from לַע, לוֹע, "necklace" or "cup" (?).
- 3, 4. See c. II. "The bronze which they have given for the date wine (?) of Peḥî for a year, belonging to Eumachos." The transliteration of the Greek name Εὐμαχος by אבמכס is interesting, as it shows that the Greek diphthong *eu* was already pronounced as in modern Greek, and that the Aramaic ב had also acquired its pronunciation of *bh*. To my eyes the papyrus has 𐤁, with only three lines to the left. If Mr. COWLEY is right we must assume that the writer has added an additional line by mistake.
- k. 2. "Nikias has given me the price of the wi[ne]."
5. "Of the month Thoth."
9. Perhaps the name is Sostratos.
- l. 1. Perhaps "in the shops," i.e., "in store."

A. H. SAYCE.

TRANSCRIPTION.

RECTO.

a

- | | |
|--|---|
| היטבן ענקא זי כתבת [מנכס] אבהי | 1 |
| שלמנין מנכסא זי זכריה חננן ס' ר' א | 2 |
| שבתיית ברית עבריה נתן סוק' // // 𐤁 | 3 |
| ארסין חננן א' ר' א | 4 |
| בב ארכנין ישר' א' . . . | 5 |
| מ . | 6 |
| 7 | |
| 7 [גר]בן . . . זיזי ר' // // 𐤁 | |
| 8 [מן] שמי'עון גרבן // יחנן כהנא גרב א | |
| 9 מן ייבתי ישיב גרבין א מן נתן א גרב א | |
| 10 מן חגי דיפרס גרבין א | |
| 11 תסא ברית הניה בר . . א אח א זעל . . | |
| 12 א ומן ס' גרה | |
| 13 | |

b.

- 1 יטריא ביר יונתן ואנה
- 2 סלק לאפנא יטועון בר חני
- 3 בר יטמתי יטטר א בחמראן QQ
- 4 בב יטועון יטטר א בכבשן ר ו
- 5 יט III II
- 6 בב יטועון יטטר א בזוןן III א
- 7 [בב יטועון יטטר א בחלרין III מרלא
- 8 וירחין ר ו מרלא
- 9 עבדיהו זכור יטטר א בזוןן א Q
- 10 בב עבדיהו זכור יטטר א בחנטן א ר
- 11 יטבתי חני תתן יטטר א בביתה . .
- 12 בב יטבתי חני יטטר א בחנטן א Q/Q
- 13 בידה יטטר א יי יחנן בר בלוי ע
- 14 בזוןן א

c.

- 1 ביר [יונתן חנטא זי] יחיי בר . . בניה
- 2 ביר יונתן דכיסה III יי חמרין
- 3 תפלה זי כסף ר זחתן ו זי כסף
- 4 ביר נתן וזיכא זי מישלם בר עוגר בישא
- 5 וזיכא זילי בידה וזיכא רבא זילנא בידה
- 6 רבא בידה וזולא בידה כה . . ה יטפירתה
- 7 בידה . . זא זי
- 8 חנטן א ו ר
- 9 [בידה] חרישא זי נחיש נכרס. ברת חניה OO
- 10 בידה חרישא זילנא במציותא
- 11 חמרא זי יחבו יתני יטנתא נא של . . זמנא
- 12 בטמאס ר Q חל גרבין ו הנ . . .
- 13 דלוי זערא גן ב Q/Q III חל א
- 14 במידלה אביתי גרבין III
- 15 עבדיהו פחס גרבין III חל א
- 16 בשקי זוןן א

d.

1	זי . . חת לטבה ה
2	ר . . יד ה י
3	לח . . צענן רבה //
4	צענן [רב]ה //
5	חלא חר קרה
6	ינ . יה //
7	קסר

e.

1	תא ו
2	נח
3	ת
4	זי
5	הרגלתי ביט
6	ר ר ר א ר ו
7	א יט
8	יט

VERSO.

f.

1	..... ארבעיא באפנא
2	כ ר כא ו ביט ו ר ו שאר יט
3	נכים לגן // בר וו שאר מופ
4	בב נכים לגן // בר וו שאר ו
5	אפלנים יתן כאוף ביט ו ר
6	לגן וו בר ו
7	לגן יניא
8	ברו
9	[לגן] // בר וו [יניא]
10	לגן וו אנה
11	נתן נרבי לגו במוף
12	יניא לגן וו בר ו מופ
13	בב נכים לגן // בר וו
14	יניא לג

g.

- 1 זבס לנן // בר וו
- 2 יניא לנן // בר וו
- 3 בב נכיס לנן // בר וו
- 4 יטאר ר וו
- 5 יהודה לנן וו בר ו
- 6 בב נכיס לנ ו מוף
- 7 יניא לנן וו במוף
- 8 יניא כאוף ב
- 9 ב אר
- 10 בגרב חמישת . .
- 11 יסדרס לנן וו בר ו
- 12 פרס כא ו ביט ו ר וו
- 13 הרגלתי פלג בר וו
- 14 לסמקס לנן // בר וו מוף
- 15 כסתס לנן // בר וו
- 16 דורוס לגין // בר וו
- 17 אביתי נתן לגאז בר וו

h

- 1 אביתי ב וו
- 2 יסדרס לנן // בר וו
- 3 יניא לנן // בר וו
- 4 בביס לנן // בר וו ביט ו מוף
- 5 יוניא לנן וו בר ו
- 6 יהודה לנן // בר וו מוף
- 7 יניא לנן וו בר ו מוף
- 8 רחבל לנ ו במוף
- 9 עבדי ייטב ל
- 10 // בר וו
- 11 יניא לנן // בר וו
- 12 פתפי לנן // בר וו
- 13 פתו לנן // בר וו
- 14 יוניא לנן // בר וו
- 15 זפדה לנן וו בר ו
- 16 כפתו כאן וו ביט וו יטאר מ //
- 17 ארמיס לנן // בר ו מוף

i.

- 1 בבית ישיב יקל בביתך //
- 2 בביתנא מלעתנ[?] ו ו בראמן ו פתח[?]
- 3 נחטיא זי יהבו על תמריא זי פחי
- 4 ישנתא זאבמכס כרשן // יט 7 ו
- 5 בב פתו לגן // // בישו
- 6 בב פתו לגן ו בר // // בישו
- 7 אביתי לנבי[?]תנא ... ערביא לגן 7/ בר ..
- 8 77 בכא 77
- 9 בסקנ[?] ... 77 בר ו

k.

- 1 שאר תכנ ... הדרא
- 2 נתן לי נכיס דמי חמ ...
- 3 י 77
- 4 ... פה נכיס ח ...
- 5 77 לתחות
- 6 77 (erasure)
- 7 זון 77 77 ר
- 8 77 ... 77
- 9 ססרתס [לגן] ו בר 77 מופ
- 10 אנה לגן 77 ישבתי חניה לגן 77
- 11 בב אנה לגן 77 בר ו
- 12 בב אנה לגן 77 77
- 13 ביש 77 בב אנה לגן 77
- 14 בר 77 נכיס כא 77 יט 77 בר 77 יט 77 אר 77
- 15 בר 77 יהודה לגן 77 77 [ביט] 77 ר 77 יט 77 אר 77
- 16 בר 77 בב אנה[?] לגן 77

l.

- 1 ו בחנת[?] ס 77
- 2 77 מ 77
- 3 77 בחנתן ס 77
- 4 77 77 77
- 5 77 ער

PALEOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The document seems to begin with column *a*, and is evidently to be read in columns, as transcribed. The columns are not, however, always kept distinct, but sometimes run into one another where the lines are long. The lines often slope, so that the beginning or end is occasionally lost, and it is not always certain to which line a word belongs.

Probably one line is lost (possibly two) in the middle of each column between the two strips. It is unlikely that anything considerable is wanting at the top or bottom.

The lower edge of the obverse is the top edge of the reverse.

The writing is rough and unskilful; clearly not the work of a professional scribe. The difficulty of decipherment is increased by the broken condition of the papyrus, by the condensed and disconnected nature of the entries, by the abbreviations, and by apparent inconsistencies of the writer.

The characters are the same as those on an ostrakon recently published by LIDZBARSKI,¹ and are much later in form than those of the Assuan papyri. The Greek names, too, require a Ptolemaic date. LIDZBARSKI suggests that his ostrakon is of the second century B.C.

With regard to particular letters it will be observed that א, ב, ה, ל, ש have practically arrived at the ordinary square shape; ג has much the same form as in the Assuan papyri; ד and ר are still indistinguishable; ז is merely a stroke, difficult to distinguish from the numeral 4; כ medial, with the bent tail, begins to approximate to the square form, but as a final letter the tail is straight, as in the square ך; in מ the right-hand stroke tends to turn round, and in some instances the letter is very like the square form; נ medial has a bent tail, but ן final is generally straight; ס shows the most pronounced change: in some instances it is nearly joined below, thus approaching the square form: it is sometimes hard to distinguish from ק, and even from ת; ע still has practically the Assuan form; פ is a good deal modified from the earlier form, and only requires a lengthened tail to give it the square form; ת has the left-hand stroke shorter than at Assuan.

¹ *Ephemeris* ii, pp. 243 *sqq.*, where see his remarks.

In general it must be admitted that, for reasons given above, the reading of many words or fragments of words is uncertain, and their explanation still more so. Doubtful letters are marked with an overline.

Col. *a* is very much discoloured and the writing faint.

line 1. ענקה or ענכא, not ענניא.

מנכס conjectured from the next line.

אבהי the back stroke of ב is really part of the א.

1. 2. מנכסא, the ס is like a ת.

ר may be ר, and so throughout.

1. 3, end. ק is probable, not מ. The end may be קוף; cf. כוף frequently.

1. 4. ארסין restored from the next line, since בב often introduces a repeated name.

1. 6. before מ perhaps ס.

1. 7. זיזי, there seems to be no other way of reading it.

1. 11. תסא. In c 9 the daughter of חניה is [נכרס(ה)?], but that is not possible here.

1. 12. The ; looks as though it belonged to the word beginning with ס.

Col. *b*. A list of bonds or contracts. יטר is always followed by ב.

1. 2. At the beginning, a mark of division (?)

1. 3. בר might be בב.

1. 4. בכבשן probably *sheep*. The ב is injured and may be ר.

1. 6. בוזון restored from l. 9 and l. 14, where the same sign 𐤁 (= 100 or 1000?) follows. The 𐤁 here and elsewhere may be merely a ה and so one of the many abbreviations. It is not the same as the sign explained as = 1000 in *Corp. Inscr. Sem.*, 147 c.

1. 7. The letters supplied would just fit the space. After מרלא perhaps —, running into the sign between c 10 and 11.

1. 11, end. Something seems to follow בביתה. Perhaps .ל., but it may be an erasure.

1. 13. בלוי, or בלוי, or דלוי as in c 13.

. . . . ע, the next letter may be ב, and there are traces (of ה?) at the end of the word.

1. 14. Probably there was no more in this line.

Col. *c*, l. 1. 1. *וי*, there is a faint trace of, perhaps, the *י*.

בניה . . ., except the *ה*, is very doubtful.

l. 2. *דביסה*, or *דר*, or *רב*.

l. 4. *עונר*, the *נ* runs into the tail of the *ף* above.

l. 6. *וּזולא* is more probable than *וּזפלא*.

l. 7. *זא* . . or *חא* or *צא*?

. . . *י*, only tops of letters remain. Perhaps *יחיי*.

l. 9. *נכרס*. The first letter may be *ז* or *ו*. The missing termination may be *ס* or *ה*? In *a 11* a daughter of *חניה* is called *תסא*.

The two marks at the end are like *סס* (not *סט*), but they are probably not letters.

l. 10. *במציותא*. Only the down-stroke of the *ו* remains, but it can hardly be anything else.

נא. There seems to be no other possibility.

After *של* there are traces of at least two letters.

זמנא, the *מ* may be *ה*. Perhaps *בהנא*.

l. 12. Perhaps *בטמא נר* (*i.e.* *נרבן*).

l. 13. *נ* may be *ג*.

The end of the line is faded and broken. Several letters are lost.

l. 14. *אביתי*, so several times and in LIDZBARSKI'S ostrakon, not *אביתר*.

l. 16. *בישקי* may be *מהני*.

Col. *d*, line 1. *לטבה*, the *ב* is very doubtful. Of *ה* only the right-hand stroke remains.

l. 2. The first letter may be *ר*, *ד*, or *כ*.

l. 3. *צעין* or *צענן*, and so in the next line. *רבה* is fairly certain.

l. 4. *פא*, only half the *א* is left. It may be *י*.

l. 5. *חלאהר* are written together.

l. 6. *ינעה* or *יניה* or *זנעה*.

l. 7. Very doubtful.

The left-hand side of this column is broken, and all the lines are incomplete. The lower half of the column is lost.

Col. *e*. These two fragments do not appear to join on to *d*. It is quite uncertain whether both belong to one column.

l. 6. Scarcely room for *II*.

Col. *f*. Probably there was nothing above l. 1.

- l. 3. מוּף, a frequent combination. Here the מ might be כ, but it is certainly מ elsewhere. The ו may be ז in all cases.
- l. 5. יתן. Perhaps יין or ? יין.
- l. 11. נתן may be נתן, but the space after it is against this.

Col. *g*. l. 1. נבם. The ב is certain. Can it be a mistake for נכים ?

l. 4. יִשָּׂאֵר. There is something above the ר: perhaps an erasure.

l. 7. במוּף is very uncertain. Perhaps ברו.

l. 14. לִסְמָקִס. The לִס is more like לָק.

l. 16. דורום seems to be the only possible way of reading it.

Col. *h*. l. 1. Perhaps a continuation of *g*, 17.

l. 2, end, partly erased. It may be מוּחַלְלָה.

l. 4. נכים not בבים.

l. 6. The extra 1 was put in afterwards.

l. 9. Only the tops remain. It looks like this.

l. 15. Or זפרא.

l. 16. בפתו, for בבתו ? מוּחַלְלָה above the line.

l. 17. ארמים. There is a trace of the י.

בר. Perhaps צר.

Col. *i*. l. 1. In יִשָּׂאֵר, יִק, בְּבִי the י has an unusual shape. בביתך or בבעתך. The ך has distinctly the later final form here.

l. 2. מלעתין. The tail of the ן remains. The space suggests the י.

l. 3. In תמריא note the form of the מ.

פחי. The ח has an unusual form, but can hardly be ת, nor can the י be י, Hence not פתו (l. 5). The name פחי occurs in the Assuan papyrus F 2.

l. 4. זאבמכס. There is a crease in the papyrus after the ז, but nothing is hidden by it.

l. 6 has all been erased, but the reading is fairly certain. Possibly לָגֵן stood before מוּחַלְלָה. The figures above the line are evidently a correction of the amount (see l. 5). Then the writer found he had repeated l. 5 and so erased the whole line.

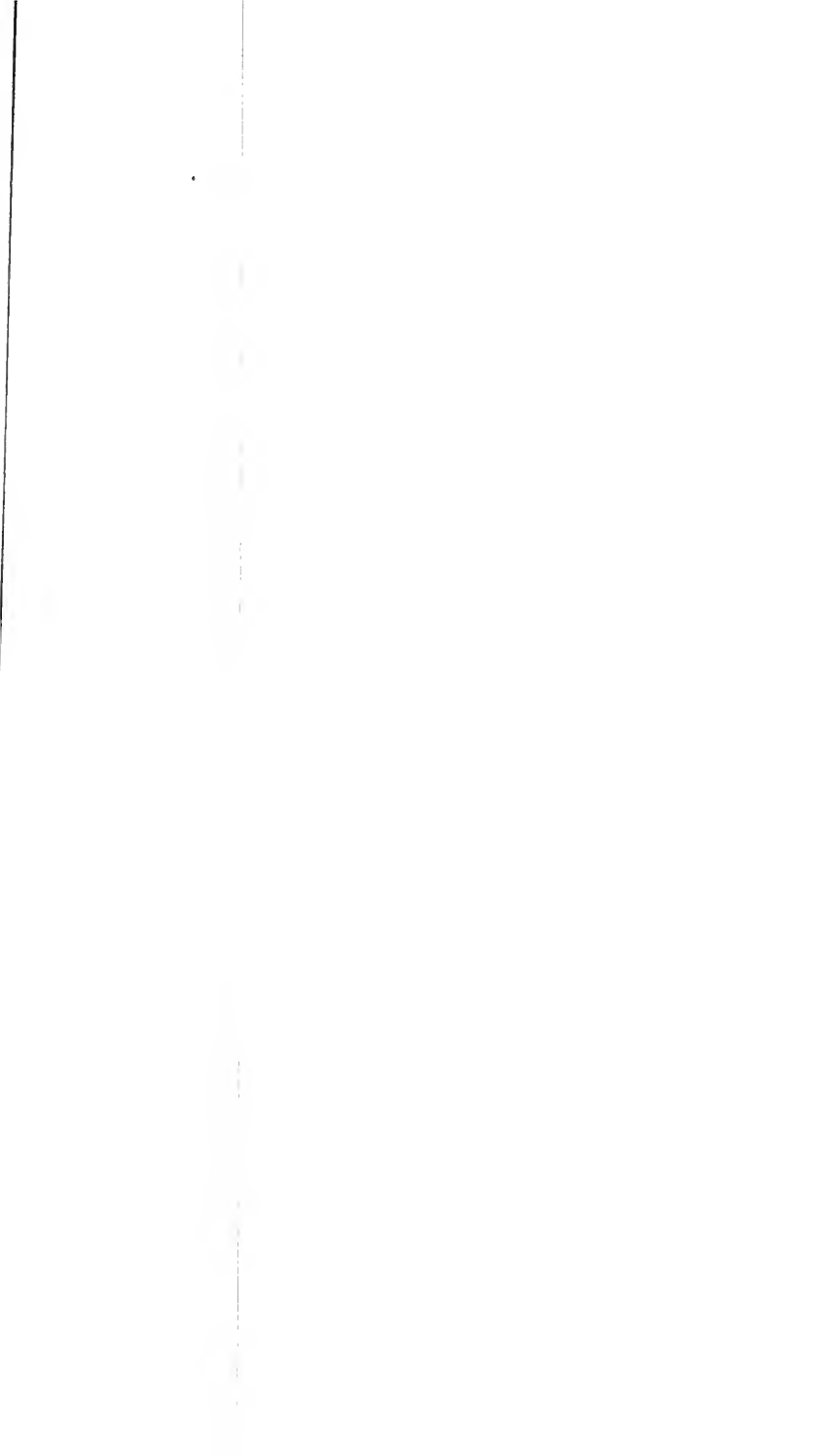
- l. 7. לביתנא. The י should be on the crease in the papyrus, but there is no trace of it, and hardly room for it. The rest of the line runs into the next column.
- l. 8. Only the tails of the letters remain.
- l. 9. Possibly . . . בכקי. The כ is very doubtful. The rest of the column is blank.

- Col. k.
- l. 1. הדרא. The ה might be מ.
 - l. 2. Probably הכתר.
 - l. 3. The last \ is unusually thick but can hardly be anything else.
 - l. 4. Before פה are some marks, but it is impossible to guess what they represent.
 - l. 10. אנה must be meant, but the נ has an odd form. At the end, there is a thick line through the ל and the ב below it, perhaps intended to cancel the entry.
 - l. 11. ברך belongs to לך above.
 - l. 13. There are signs of a letter (erased?) before ביט.

- Col. l. The connexion of these two small fragments is again quite uncertain.

A. COWLEY.





A "KASSITE" TEXT ;
AND
A FIRST DYNASTY TABLET.

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL, *M.A.*
Lecturer in Assyriology, Oxford.

I.

A KASSITE TEXT.
(*See Plates I and II.*)

I obtained this tablet through the good offices of the Rev. C. H. W. JOHNS, who kindly sent me an English transcription of it as long ago as last February. Pressure of other work has hitherto hindered publication of the cuneiform text. It is a list of revenues and expenses for the eleventh year of an unnamed king, and appears to be of some importance, both on account of the new names which it presents, and also because the tablet is, perhaps, the only example of its kind existing in Europe, with the exception of those at Constantinople.

Some seventeen of about fifty proper names which may be identified on the tablet occur in A. T. CLAY's *Documents from the Temple Archives at Nippur* (BAB. EXPED. OF THE UNIV. OF PENNSYLVANIA, Vols. XI, XV, Series A ; *cf.* also Vol. III, Series D, *Early Bab. Personal Names*, by H. RANKE). The tablet, which is considerably fractured, measures about 6 in. by 3 in., and comprises sixty-two lines.

The following is a list of the personal names, so far as I can make them out :—

Abdu-Nergal (Ab-du D. U-GUR)	Adad-shada
Ardi-Nannar (URU AN ŠEŠ KI)	Adad-tukulti Akidini (<i>cf.</i> A-ki-ia ; A-ki-ia-tum)
A-da-a-a-u-tum (<i>cf.</i> A-da-a ; Adaiaatum)	Amar-Simutu (<i>cf.</i> Ammar-ilu) Attabuna

Bubibanu	Kur-Dagan-imti
Bunna-Nannar	Kur-ḫuniti
Burush	Kur-kubbulti
Damu-imtê (<i>cf.</i> D. Damu-GAL . ZU)	Lûṣ-ana-nûr-ilâni
Dan-Kur (<i>cf.</i> Dania)	Marduk-dîna-tabbi
Ea-bêl-ilâni	Muti-E . KUR . KI
Erba-Adad	Nergal-uçri
Eribuni	Nûr-Shamash
Eṭir-Nusku	Nusku-râm-zêri
Gimil-Adad	Paliḫu
Ḫanibu (<i>cf.</i> Ḫunabia)	Puṣṣutu
Ilâni (?)-mukîn	Rêstushu
Ili-rimenni	(ID.) SHUL . PA . UD . DU-uçur
Ina-shêri-nibi	Shuriḫa ilu
Innibi (<i>cf.</i> Innibu)	Sin-rish-abi
Izkur-Adad	Taribe-Sin
Kubbuti (<i>cf.</i> Kubbutum)	Tuḫia
Kunundi-Ubriash	Usatusha
Kur-abu-Iati (<i>cf.</i> Abuiatum)	Uçur-Gula
	Zikrutum

It will be noticed how closely most of these names resemble those of the First Dynasty.

The -a-ma (Rev. 25) may be a remnant of some name of which the second element was I-a-ma, *i.e.*, Iawa, Jahweh, as in Gamar-Iama and other similar names.

2.

A FIRST DYNASTY TABLET.

(Plate III.)

The document here figured and transcribed is clearly written and perfectly preserved. It is a small but beautiful specimen of its class, measuring 3 in. by 1½ in. The matter relates to the sale of a house, and the date is the sixth year of SUMULAILU, the second

A KASSITE TEXT.

OBVERSE.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.

- 18.
- 19.
- 20.

- 21.
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
- 25.
- 26.
- 27.

- 28.

BOTTOM EDGE.

- 29.
- 30.

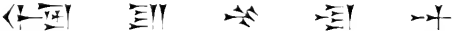

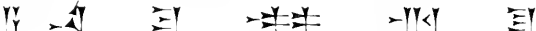


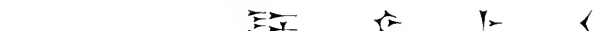







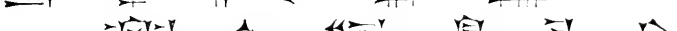

REVERSE.

BOTTOM EDGE.

3¹. . . .

3².

REVERSE.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7.  (sic ?)
8. 
9. 
10. 
11. 
12. 
13. 
14. 
15. 

The date, which Mr. JOHNS informs me is a new one, is given thus (Rev. 13, 14):—

ITU ASHA MU USH · SA

BADA DIN · TIR · KI BA · DU

“Month Sebat, year after
the wall of Babylon was built.”

We know from the Chronicle of this Dynasty that the year when the wall of Babylon was built was the fifth year of Sumulailu (SAYCE, *P.S.B.A.*, XXI, p. 12 ; KING, *Hammurabi*, Vol. III, p. 214).



OBVERSE.



REVERSE



RIGHT-HAND EDGE.



BOTTOM EDGE.

A FIRST DYNASTY TABLET.

THE TOMB OF THYĪ.

BY E. R. AYRTON.

Thebes, although a place of no small importance from the earliest times, reached its zenith of splendour and power under the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth dynasties; great temples rose on both banks of the Nile, and the kings vied with one another in building these superb monuments. It is but natural that such monarchs should not be content to be buried amongst their subjects in the vast cemetery that occupies the whole of the desert on the Western side of Thebes, but should seek some separate place in which to excavate their last dwelling on this earth.

The Nile valley is bounded on each side by high desert plateaux, and on the Western side this ends in an abrupt precipice on the edge of the desert. This plateau is intersected by huge *wadis*, which for untold centuries have led down to the Nile valley the accumulated rainfall of the upper desert. Such a *wadi* is the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (or, to give it its Arab name, the Biban el Moluk), which, beginning as a tiny crevice high on the plateau behind Deir el Bahri, opens as a wide channel into the Nile valley nearly opposite to Karnak, which lies on the other side of the river, after having been joined by two other similar gullies, the Western valley and another which is unnamed.

The Biban el Moluk and the Western valley were the places chosen by the great rulers of Thebes for their last resting-place.

The Upper or Southern end of the Biban el Moluk, in which the majority of the tombs are situated, has for some years formed the site of Mr. DAVIS' excavations.

Each season has borne its fruit—the tombs of Hatshepsut, Thothmes IV, Iuâa and Thuâa, Siptah, and, lastly, the tomb of Queen Thyi, of which I shall now speak more fully.

In the winter of 1906–7 our work commenced by digging near, and to the North of, the tomb of Rameses IX (Nefer-ka-ra) in a

large mound of limestone chippings, which had been thrown here by the sculptors of the tomb of Rameses V and VI. We removed the greater part of this rubbish, digging down to the face of the solid rock, as is our usual method in the valley. We had but few hopes of finding a tomb here, however, since our pits were sunk so close to the tomb of Rameses IX that there scarcely seemed any room for another burial. We, however, persevered, knowing well that in such excavations the unexpected happens only too frequently; and we were certainly amply rewarded, for at some feet below the level of the pathway we came upon a square-cut corner in the rock, and shortly afterwards found the corresponding one on the other side. To avoid the removal of more rubbish than was absolutely necessary, in case this should be an unfinished tomb, we placed some workmen at the point at which we supposed the first of the flight of steps descending into the tomb would lie, and commenced to sink a pit there. The men presently found a staircase cut in the rock leading downwards, and we now decided to remove all the rubbish above the entrance, and shortly afterwards had it completely cleared.

As will be seen, this tomb is considerably below the level of the tomb of Rameses IX, and also below the present water-level of the valley. We therefore feared that we should find the interior damaged by rain-water from the torrents which periodically course down the valley.

After a little more digging to remove all loose and dangerous débris above the mouth of the pit, we cleared away the blocking of rough limestone chips which had closed the first doorway, and entered a long corridor. This was found blocked by a huge tray of wood covered with gold-leaf, which we afterwards found was the lid of a great square wooden coffin. On this lay one half of a wooden door, with a design in gilt stucco on its surface, showing a queen standing worshipping a sun-disk from which extended hands holding the symbol of life. We now knew that the burial must belong to the el Amarna period. Under a great fragment of limestone which lay on the door we could just distinguish the edge of a cartouche. Beneath this stone we hoped to read what would perhaps be the only clue that we should ever have to the identity of the occupant of this tomb.

With the greatest possible care we raised the stone, and moving our light backwards and forwards to obtain the best lighting on the

hieroglyphs, we were able to read the name of the wife of Amen-hotep III and mother of Akhenaten—Queen ThyĪ.

Carrying electric lights, we advanced towards the door at the further end of the corridor and looked into the burial chamber. Here we saw a scene of unexpected disorder, and it was some time before we could make out the position of the various objects.

Immediately in front of us, reaching down from the doorway to the floor of the room, was a long slope of limestone fragments, on which lay beams of wood covered with gold-leaf, and the other half of the door of which we had already found a part in the first corridor. Climbing down these chippings, we made a detailed survey of the objects in the room.

Propped against the walls and lying on the floor were the remains of an immense wooden shrine, originally covered with gold-leaf, on which had been worked the scenes of sun-worship usual to this period. Almost all the gold had slipped from the upright pieces of wood, and lay in a crumpled mass on the floor, but fortunately one end of the shrine was lying flat. On this, on a ground of gold-leaf, was a scene in which the king, Akhenaten, followed by Queen ThyĪ, make offerings to the *Aten* disk, the rays from which are terminated by hands, some of which offer the symbol of life to the king and queen, while others touch the offerings placed before it. We learn from the fragments that this shrine was made for Queen ThyĪ by her son Akhenaten.

Against the West wall, however, lay what we were looking for. Here had originally stood a four-legged couch, bearing the coffin of the queen. The legs of this couch had given way, allowing the coffin to drop to the floor below. The lid had fallen in, breaking in two halves and forcing the mummy out to one side.

The lid itself had been a beautiful piece of work, made of wood and modelled slightly to the human form; the lower part had been covered with gold-leaf, and then inlaid with carnelian and coloured glass to give the impression of a feathered robe. Down the centre ran a line of inlaid hieroglyphs with an erased cartouche. The mummy had been wrapped in plates of gold, but was, itself, so disintegrated by the action of water, that only the bones remained in a fit state to be moved.


On the head of the skeleton lay a crown of gold. It is in the form of a vulture grasping the emblem of eternity in either claw; the tail was worn over the forehead, and, by catching the weight of the

coffin lid, prevented the skull from being completely crushed. The feathers and other details are incised on the surface, and two rings at the extremities of the wings were probably joined by a pin. Round the neck of the mummy had been a necklace, consisting of a row of plaques of gold inlaid with stone, and below this four rows of hollow gold drops, the four strings being attached at each end to a lotus flower of gold, inlaid with stone.

On each arm were three broad bracelets of thin gold.

But yet more surprises were in store for us. We had, on entering, noticed that, in an alcove above the coffin, were standing the four canopic jars. We now proceeded to examine them more closely, and found that though the bodies of the vases were of plain alabaster and contained the decomposed *viscera* of the deceased, the lids were most beautifully carved in the shape of a queen's head; the eyes being inlaid with glass or obsidian, with copper eyelids and lapis lazuli eyebrows. There had also been an uræus over the forehead, but this had in each case been broken off. Numerous other smaller objects were found in the tomb. In the broken remains of a large box at the head of the coffin were one hundred and fifty-six small glazed objects connected with religious ceremonies for the next world. Vases for ointment, model papyrus rolls, wands to protect against snake bites, and two typical figures of the god Bes bearing dishes in their hands. But the gem of this collection is the small figure of a girl, who carries on her shoulder a comparatively large vase. Like the other objects, this figure is made of a green-glazed composition, with the exception of her hair, which is brown. In the same box were also numerous sacred eyes and bunches of grapes of the same green glaze, probably belonging to a necklace.

The upper part of an uræus in copper, inlaid with gold and inscribed with the cartouches of the *Aten* on the breast, is of fine work, and was found in the rubbish on the floor.

In the further corner of the room were the remains of a similar box, which had contained the instruments for the "ceremony of the opening of the mouth" of the deceased. Here were two instruments called *pesh-en-kef* , in form like two ostrich feathers bound together; one of these bore the queen's name. The handle of a chisel used in the ceremony, the four blocks of alabaster used in the ceremony to cool the lips after the chisel had done its work, and some flint



LIDS OF CANOPIC JARS.



GOLD HEAD-DRESS.











Tomb of Ramses IX.

Tomb of Thyi.

ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB.

knives ; also two red pebbles, by contact with which the lips regained their colour.

In the ceremony of the "opening of the mouth" are described four pieces of  ^o  ^x  *Bāa*, with which the mouth and eyes of the deceased are to be touched. This word has generally been translated "iron," but as our four pieces of alabaster are certainly to be identified with the "*Bāa of the North and South*" of this ceremony, we see that the word must mean alabaster in this case at least. This is a strong proof of M. NAVILLE'S assertion in *P.S.B.A.*, June, 1907, p. 234-5, that the word     , which is probably the same word, should be translated "alabaster." Several small objects were found scattered about the tomb, among them a gold rosette and a small gold pendant in the shape of a lotus flower. In the corridor near the entrance was the blade of a small copper engraving tool.

In each corner of the room was a mud block inscribed with a prayer and an erased cartouche.

It will probably be no news to my readers that the skeleton found in the tomb has been pronounced by Dr. ELLIOT-SMITH, of Cairo, to be that of a young man of about twenty years of age. The subject will receive further consideration, but in any case, the discovery of a burial of this character cannot be devoid of interest.

THE FOLKLORE OF MOSSOUL.

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A.

(Continued from p. 174.)

HEBREW TEXT—*continued.*

(34) **אצפיר** אל הדהד אל כאן תחרקם ותכלטום פי יראב ותסקיהא לל
מרא אלדי מא תחבל ותעוור תחבל . . .

(35) **כנאקיא** ויכטו פי גלד ויכייטו עלא אובונו או יעלקו פינו ולא ינקו
מנו ישא ידבל אל חכם וזייר וצולטאן ויעזו ויכרמו ויקרי מראצו י'.

(36) **רישו** אן תכלינו פי בית או פי דכאן או במכאן יכרב י'.

(37) **רישו** אל טוול מן גנחו אל ישמאל אל יחמלם ענדו מא יתדישמונו
שאי אדמי י'.

(38) **לסאן** אל הדהד יעלקו או ייטרו על זגרו אל ימין מא יתדישמונו שאי
אדמי י'.

(39) **לישאן** והדהד תניחו ביטמן זית או ביטמן ישומשמן והניחהו תחת
ליטונך כל מה שתחפזין תנתן שאלתיך במהרה י'.

(40) **דכרו** תבכרו פי בית אל אנוט בינו סחר יבטל י'.

(41) **דמאג** אל הדהד יכון תכלטו פי טחין וענן מנו קורצא ויכון
תפתתהא ודקאה וטעמהא ל מן אלדי תריד יכון יחב והאדי אלדי
תקול עלי אל קורצא אתעמתך יא הדהד רגמתך ונעלתך תסמעני וישעיני
ותיטהדא כמא ישחד אל הדהד לאסלימן אבן דהוד עלי אל סלאם
אמין י'.

⁵ On the margin is written 'אהב יכתוב י'שם אהביאל ועל לישון יב' נויטיאל

(42) **לאהבה** אם תרצה יתבוא אחר־ך אישה כתוב אלו החותמות על
חרס הדיש וגע למי ית־רצה [See Plate I, No. 5] ע"כ תם

(43) **לאהבה** ית־רצה אם תבוא אחר־ך אישה ותניח אביה ואמה כתוב בלמסא
וזה־פראן וגע למי ית־אהב ויבוא עמך פ־כ־ [See Plate II, No. 6] ע"כ תם

(44) **לרואה** ואינו נראה כתוב בקלף צבי אלו הישמות ותלה על זרועך
הישמלית בבית הישחי וז'מיט' [See Plate II, No. 7] ע"כ תם

(45) **ע"א** יכתוב אלו הישמות בקלף צבי אחר תקופת תמוז יטבעה ישעות
וייטמם במקל לז' ולא יראו אותו בני אדם וז'מיט' וְהוּ לַהֲחֹשׁ עִמָּם
נָגַא גִּית מִכָּא בְנִי נֶא מִיּוֹל הָרַח מִצֵּר וְיִשִּׁם הַמִּקֵּל עַל לִבְךָ
וְתִשָּׂא אוֹתוֹ עִמָּךְ י'.

(46) **ע"א** כתוב אלו החותמות וישים בזרועך ואלו הן [See Plate II, No. 8] י'.

(47) **ע"א** קח נהויטת וברזל בשיעור וקיי א' ועשה מכולם טבעת ויתחקור בו
אלו החותמות [See Plate II, No. 9] תיטא אותה עמך לא יראה אותך
שום אדם י' ע"כ

(48) **ע"א** קח ביצי עורב מהקן ותבשלם באש והחזירם לקן ויביט העורב
וימצא הבצים קשים ילך ויביא אבן א' טובה תקחנא אותה ותיטמרנה
אצלך ולא יראוך אנשים ע"כ י'.

(49) **ע"א** קח התול ישחור וישחטנו וקח את לבו ויבשהו וטבלהו בדבש
ויהיה עמך למיטמרת בעת חסרון הירח או ברח"ש א' ויטא אותו עמך ותהיה
נעלם מעיני כל חי י' ע"כ

(50) **ע"א** כתוב בקלף צבי ותן עליו ג' שורות ויטהיה בצורך וז'מיט' גִּלְסִפִּץ
עִבְרִיכָר קָל קָל קָל יְהוּה י'.

(51) **ע"א** קח קלף צבי וכתוב זה החותם ותלה בזרועך היטמואל כנגד בית
הישחי [See Plate II, No. 10] ע"כ י'.

(52) לוונע אל אדן תכתב ותעלך עלי ארנייא דנייא נייא ייא יא א'
אביעמי מעמי עמי ומי כִּי [See Plate II, No. 11] ע"כ י'.

(53) **לביזו אל עין** כוד מרארת אל קונפיד ויכסא ואתכחל ביהא וואצחנא
מלית בוחדא ואכחל ביהא ע"כ י'.

⁶ Here we should probably read some form of חקק.

⁷ For ואסחנא.

(63) לִשְׁנֵאָה בֵּין אִישׁ לְאִשְׁתּוֹ אוֹ בֵּין אָדָם לְחֵבִירוֹ יִכְתּוּב עַל נֵיִר אֲתִיכּוֹס
 אֲנָכִים הֵתָם אֱלוֹ הַשְּׁמֹטוֹת וַיִּתֵּן לִשְׁמֹטוֹת וַיֹּאמֶר כִּמוֹ יִשְׁהַפֵּךְ אֶת כְּדוֹם
 וְאֵת עֲמוּרָא וְאֶדְמָה וְצִבּוּיִים כִּךְ יִהְיֶה לָּב פֶּבֶף וְלֹא יִהְיֶה בִּינֵיהֶם
 אֲהַבָּה וְלֹא הֵן וְחֹסֶד וַיִּשְׁנֵא אֶת פֶּבֶף וַיִּשְׁנֵאוּ זֶה אֶת זֶה בִּשְׁם חֲפְנִיָּאל
 חֲרוּיָּאל הַעֲמֹאֵל וְקַפְנִיָּאל וְקִנְצִין בִּשְׁם כֹּ אֲדִיָּה עִבִּי :
 (64) לְאֲהַבָּה כְּתוּב עַל כְּלִי חֲרֹשׁ וּמִחּוּק אוֹתוֹ בַּמִּים וְתִשְׁקָה הַמִּים לִשְׁנֵא
 וְזוֹאת לִפְרֹם לִפְרֹם לִפְרֹם הַפּוֹךְ לִיב פֶּבֶף עַל פֶּבֶף עִבִּי יִי .
 (65) לְאֲהַבָּה יִכְתּוּב עַל נֵיִר אֱלוֹ הַשְּׁמֹטוֹת וְתִקְשׁוּר הָאִשָּׁה עַל יָדָהּ יִמְנִית
 וְזוֹאת וְקִידָת בִּלְב פֶּבֶף וְלֹא יֵאָכַל וְלֹא יִשְׁתֶּה וְלֹא יִשֵּׁן וְלֹא יִדְבֵּר עִם
 יָשׁוּם אָדָם בִּשְׁם אֶת כֹּס אֶת בֵּיס הֵתָם עִבִּי :

TRANSLATION—continued.

No. 34. *The claws of the hoopoe*:—If thou burn them and mix them in wine and give them to drink to a woman that conceiveth not, then will she habitually conceive.

No. 35. *The beak (? read مَلَقْر of the hoopoe*.—And he shall sew it into skin, or sew it on his gown, or hang it on his person, and he shall lack nothing, and shall come in to the sage, or minister, or sultan, and he shall give him power and honour him and shall nominate (him) as his officer.

No. 36. A feather thereof, if thou leavest it in a house, or shop, or place, (that house) will be destroyed.

No. 37. The long feather from its left wing, if he carry it on him, nothing human can be hostile to him.

No. 38. The tongue of the hoopoe, (if) he hang it or bind it on the right wrist, nothing human can be hostile to him.

No. 39. The tongue of the hoopoe, (if) thou putteth it in olive oil, or sesame oil, and put it under thy tongue, whosoever thou pleasest shall give thee thy request speedily.

No. 40. Its blood, if thou shalt burn it as incense in the house of a man in which there is sorcery, it shall cease.

No. 41. The brain of a hoopoe, if thou mix it with flour and knead thereof a cake, and if thou crumble it and pound it and give it to eat to anyone thou wishest, he shall love (thee) and this is what

thou shalt say over the cake: "O hoopoe, . . . and I set thee that thou shalt hear me and help me, and bear witness, as the hoopoe bore witness to Solomon, son of David, in peace. Amen."⁸

No. 42. *For love*.—If thou wishest that a woman shall come after thee, write these seals on a new potsherd, and touch whomsoever thou wishest (*see* Plate I, No. 5).

No. 43. *For love, when thou wishest that a woman should come after thee, and thou shouldst please her father and mother*.—Write in starch (?) and saffron, and touch whomsoever thou lovest and she will come with thee, "N, son of N," etc. (*see* Plate II, No. 6).

No. 44. *For one to see without being seen*.—Write on gazelle-skin these names, and hang it on thy left arm on the shoulder. And this is what thou shalt write (*see* Plate II, No. 7).

No. 45. *Another*.—Let him write these names on gazelle-skin seven hours after the solstice of Tammuz, and put them in a stick of almond wood, and men shall not see him. And this is what thou shalt write: "Whw Lhḥs 'Amm Nga Gith Mka Bni Na Mayil Ḥrḥ Mṣr, and put the stick on thy heart, and thou shalt carry it on thy person.

No. 46. *Another*.—Write these seals and put them on thy arm. And these are they (*see* Plate II, No. 8).

No. 47. *Another*.—Take of copper and iron about one *oke* weight, and make of all of them a ring and engrave on it these seals (*see* Plate II, No. 9). (If) thou carry it on thy person, no one shall see thee.

No. 48. *Another*.—Take a raven's eggs from the nest and cook them on the fire and put them back in the nest, and when the raven looketh and findeth the eggs hard, it will go and bring a good stone (and) thou shalt take it and keep it near thee and men will not see thee.

No. 49. *Another*.—Take a black cat and kill it, and take its heart and dry it and steep it in honey and let it be kept by thee. At the time of the waning of the moon or the beginning of the month carry it on thy person, and thou shalt be concealed from the eyes of all living.

⁸ *Marginal note*. *A prescription for love*.—Let him write the name of Ahabel, and on the tongue let him write Noithiel.

No. 50. *Another*.—Write on gazelle-skin and put on it three lines and carry it on thy neck. And this is what thou shalt write: “Glspş Şmrkd K̄l K̄l K̄l Yahweh.”

No. 51. *Another*.—Take gazelle-skin and write this seal and hang it on thy left arm opposite the shoulder (*see* Plate II, No. 10).

No. 52.—*For a pain in the ear*.—Thou shalt write and hang it on the ear,⁹ “Adniya Dniya Niya Iya Ya A Am’ami M’ami ‘Ami Umi Mi (*see* Plate II, No. 11).

No. 53.—*For a whitening in the eye*.—Take the gall of a hedgehog and dry it and paint thine eyes with it, or pound it up together and paint thine eyes with it.

No. 54. *For business*.—Write these on a ram’s-skin and hang it in the shop. And this is what thou shalt write: “In the name of Kaphak̄ Gzsab ş k ş K̄nkpzk̄ Sk̄h Zşzk̄lbokak̄.”

No. 55. *For a thief, that he may not be able to enter by night*.—Write these seals and hang them on the door. Proḡ goali (*see* Plate III, No. 12).

No. 56. *For a girl that is not sought in marriage*.—Let him (*sic*) write these seals and hang them up on the door of the house, and immediately they shall take her in marriage (*see* Plate III, No. 13).

No. 57. *For love*.—Write these seals and throw them in a vessel of water—which he drinketh from, and he will love thee with a strong love (*see* Plate III, No. 14).

No. 58. A diagram for casting lots.

No. 59. *For love*.—Take a frog and bury it in the earth for seven days, and then thou shalt take the bones and put (them) in a vessel of water; those that ‘swim are for love and those that sink are for hatred, and when thou wilt, set them to work; touch whomsoever thou wishest, and thou wilt see wonders.

No. 60. *For hate*.—Take the egg of a black hen, and boil it in urine, and give half of it to a dog, and half of it to a cat, and say: “As these hate one another, so may hatred fall between N., son of N., and N., son of N.”

⁹ It seems probable that the word for “ear” has been left out by dittography with *Adniya*. Some of these words have peculiar marks over them, not represented here.

No. 61. *For love*.—Thou shalt write on parchment and give it to drink ; and this (is it) “Šmniṭ Kṭba’ Bsh Ytr ‘Olam Ḥozoth ‘Aṭuel Ma’tul in love for N., son of N., in the eyes of N., daughter of N.”

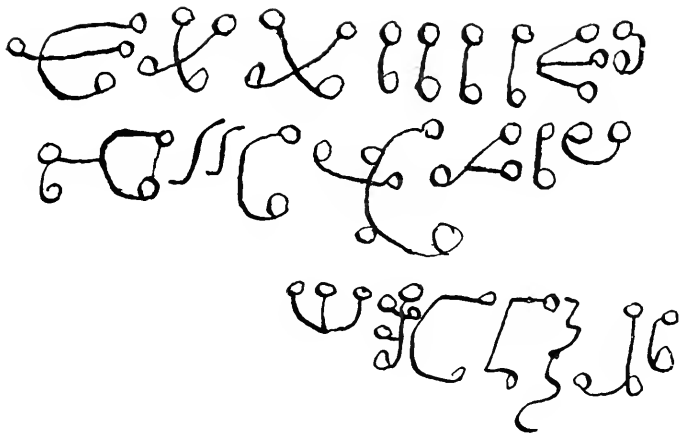
No. 62. *Another*.—Let him write these names : “In the name of Ehyeh Šuria Šadḳiel, in the name of Arima, in the name of Ahabiel Yophiel, that ye shall put love for N., son of N., in the eyes of N., daughter of N., by the might of Yah, in the name of Ših, in the name of Ših.” And let him give it to whomsoever he will, in wine or milk, and there shall be love between them by God’s help.

No. 63. *For hatred between a man and his wife, or between a man and his friend*.—Let him write on parchment “Atikos Ankis Hts,” these names, and give it to drink, and let him say, “As He overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, so may he overthrow the heart of N., son of N., and there shall be no love between them, nor grace, nor favour, and he shall hate N., daughter of N., and they shall hate one another, in the name of Ḥaphniel, Haruwiel, Ha’muel, and Kaphšiel, and Kṣin, in the name of K Ehyeh.”

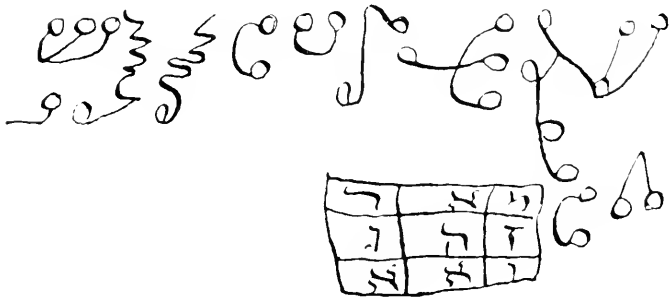
No. 64. *For love*.—Write on a vessel or pot, and wash it off in water, and give the water to drink to the one that hateth (thee) ; and this is it : “Lprm Lprm Lprm turn the heart of N., daughter of N., towards N., son of N.”

No. 65. *For love*.—Let him write these names on parchment, and the woman shall bind them on her right hand, and this is it : “(For ?) a burning in the heart of N., son of N., and he shall not eat, drink, sleep, or speak with anyone, in the name of At Ks At Kis Hts.”

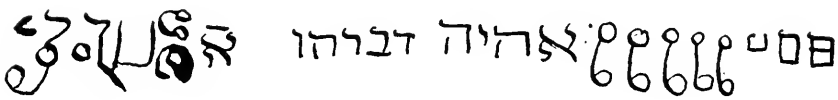
(*To be continued.*)



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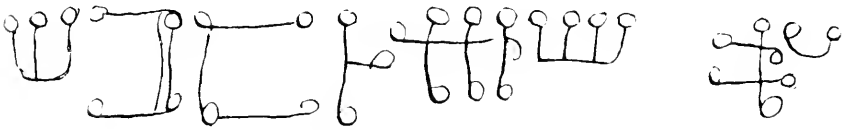


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HAGIOGRAPHICA FROM LEIPZIG MANUSCRIPTS.

BY W. E. CRUM.

The collection of Nitrian MSS. left by TISCHENDORF to the Leipzig University Library has recently been the subject of an excellent though brief catalogue by Dr. LEIPOLDT (in K. Vollers: *Katalog der islamischen Handschriften u.s.w.*, Leipzig, 1906). I had, some years ago, an opportunity of studying them, and have, more recently, with the object of reviewing this new catalogue, had reason to further investigate them. But my notes, I found, grew so voluminous, that I abandoned the projected review, and have put them together in the following form. I have only dealt with a selection of the saints whose names occur; of many there was nothing to add to the statements of the catalogue. The numbers in brackets are those of Dr. LEIPOLDT's pages, on which the names will be found.

ABRAHAM AND GAROGA (*read* George) (385).—These are the anchorites, 'the shining stars,' so often referred to in the *Synaxarium*, where the story of the former is told on the 9th Tûbeh¹, that of the latter on the 18th Bashans.² Abraham's parents suffered from the Persian invasion³ (618-628), his spiritual father was John, the celebrated *hegumenus* of Shihêt,⁴ who was in office prior to the Arab conquest. Younger contemporaries were the patriarch Isaac, *ob.* 693,⁵ and Minâ, bishop of Thmuis, who himself assisted at the consecration of four patriarchs, the last in the year 743.⁶

Abraham may be the Abraham of Phelbês, mentioned in the history of the deposition of the bones of the 49 Martyrs, as a colleague of John the *hegumenus*.⁷ With John the two saints dwelt, at the Monastery of Macarius, in the *cella* called 'to this day'

¹ WÜSTENFELD, 227.

² My copy of a Cairo (Al-Mo'allaqah) MS.

³ WÜSTENFELD, *l.c.*

⁴ *Ib.* 206, 228.

⁵ AMÉLINEAU, *Vie d'Isaac* 33; A. J. BUTLER, *Arab Conq.* 548 ff.

⁶ *Ib.* 102.

⁷ ZOEGA, p. 95.

بشيش or بيشيش.⁸ Before accompanying his friend thither, George had spent ten years in the monastery of Abba Orion,⁹ whence a two days' walk into the 'inner desert' brought him to the Monastery of the Greeks.¹⁰

AMBROSIUS AND HOR (389)—Contents: Apa A. asks Apa H. for his prayers and Apa H. asks for his. Thereafter the narrator went into the desert and became so ill, that he thought not again of H. for a week. Then he quitted 'this mount,' *i.e.* **ΠΤΟΟΤ ΗΓΒΕ** . . . to visit H., who dwelt in the mount of **ΗΓΟΒΕΗ**, 'distant from us a station's (*ουρή*) journey.' He came upon **ΟΤΗΝΥΤ ΚΟΤΟΡΥΓ ΕΓΕΗΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΓΟΗ**.¹¹ The place-names are difficult. The first can, among known places, fit only **ΕΒΕΤ**, Apollinopolis Parva¹²; the second recalls **ΗΓΟΟΤΗ**,¹³ though Syene, too, is occasionally **ΚΟΤΗ**.¹⁴ At any rate, no localities in Lower Egypt here suggest themselves. Ambrose is a very rare name in Egypt. One, quite inconspicuous, occurs in the calendar.¹⁵

AMOUN (389).—This is presumably the same martyr who elsewhere (394) appears with Krajôn (*q. r.*). Here an Apollo is also mentioned, which recalls the conjunction of these three names in the Acts of Anoub.¹⁶ At his other occurrence here Amoun is called of **ΟΕΡ[Ε]ΝΟΥΤ**, which points to the martyr of the 27th Abib,¹⁷

⁸ The first in the *Patr. Hist.* (Paris *arabe* 140, f. 249, EVETTS), the second in the *Synax.* (FORGET 182, 201). Cf. QUATREMÈRE i, 466. The only etymology that I can suggest is **ΠΙΧΟΥΧΟΥ** (or a simpler form **ΠΕΤΧΟΥ**). Cf. *Mus. Guimet* XXV, 56, where this clearly = 'summit,' though *ib.* 292, that can hardly be the meaning. Another quarter of the monastery is **دنشیری** (MS. f. 234, EVETTS), = **ΔΟΥΤΗ** **ΗΡ** (*v.* Zoega 65, 105, QUATREMÈRE *l.c.*, RENAUDOT, *Hist.* 514.)

⁹ **دبر انبا اوريون** in my Cairo MS., **جبل اريون** (FORGET p. 201). Orion bishop of Sais (ZOECA, 109) is too late to be identical.

¹⁰ **دبر الروم** Cairo MS. Presumably Dair al-Baramûs, elsewhere (*Synax.*, 27th Baramhât) **دبر القديسين الروم** or **اباينا الروم**.

¹¹ 'A great watch-house, built of (?) stones,' assuming **ΟΤΟΡΥΓ**, which occurs obscurely as a boundary in the deeds Brit. Mus. Or. 6202, 6206, to be formed (*v.* STERN § 100) from **ΟΤΕΡΥ**. This verb in *Mission* iv, 637, is to lay foundations and, less clearly, in *ib.* 20. In ZOECA 499 = build, construct.

¹² *I.* my chapter in PETRIE's forthcoming *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pt. ii.

¹³ *Mission* iv, 737. L.'s other reference, for which I am responsible, is clearly unsuitable.

¹⁴ Brit. Mus. *Cat.*, no. 399.

¹⁵ ZOECA, p. 30.

¹⁶ *AASS.* March 17.

¹⁷ AMÉLINEAU, *Actes*, 105.

although his story there shows no connection with that of Krajôn. The companion of Krajôn¹⁸ moreover cannot be the Amoun of Brit. Mus., no. 344. Two more of our leaves (Nr. 1086, K. 30, 33) seem to belong to this one; but the mention of the *hegemôn* of the Thebais makes their relation doubtful.

APOLI (389 &c.).—Sufficient has been said of this martyr elsewhere.¹⁹ The text of C. 4 corresponds to that of *Cod. Vatic.* LXI, f. 223. In K. 27 the village where his body is laid to rest is called **ΠΟΒΟΥΤ** [**ΖΟΙ**. Can this be connected with the ‘moat,’ **المجندق**, the northern suburb of Cairo, to a monastery in which the *Synaxarium* says that the body was eventually brought?²⁰ A curious word, occurring in the colophon to the Vatican MS., f. 227 *ro.*, may here be noted. The donor was **ΠΕΟΡΡΗ ΝΤΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΝΗΕΥΕ**, translated, I know not why, as *miser* by ASSEMANI.²¹

APOLLO (420).—In addition to what has been said elsewhere,²² I would point out that an inscription at Bawît, naming **ΑΠΟΛΛΟ ΦΙΛΟΣ Ν[Ν]ΑΡΤΕΛΑΟΣ**,²³ proves that the saint of the 25th Bâbeh, **المساوي الملائكة**, is indeed the founder of that great monastery.

(B)ENÉPI (385).—Elsewhere **ΒΕΝΗΠΙ**, **ΒΕΝΗΠΙ**, **ΝΗΠΙ**,²⁴ or translated, **ΖΑΛΙΑ** **حديد**.²⁵ The **جمع** in some cases calls him ‘presbyter,’ making John, who here follows him, his disciple. His place in the list is late, among the recent saints. He appears to be commemorated in one version of the calendar.²⁶ The name recurs in a Jkôw (Aphrodito) papyrus, as **ΠΕΝΗΠΙ**. Cf. perhaps *Πάρητες*.²⁷

CROSS, THE (410).—I give an analysis of the text. (B. 13) “The Archbishop said, ‘How many thieves hast thou slain in this city since thou art king **ΙΧΧΕΝΤΑΚΕΡΟΤΡΟ**?’ The *σύνβουλος* replied, ‘A great number.’ Archb., ‘How much money has thou received

¹⁸ Note that Amoun and Krajôn both figure in the Acts of Apa Ter and Erai: **HYVERNAT**, *Actes*, 94.

¹⁹ *I. Brit. Mus. Cat.* no. 338. In a note there, read 1st Mesore for 1st Mechir.

²⁰ *I. MAI, Scr. Vet. Nov. Coll.*, iv, 299, *RENAUDOT, Hist.*, 465. Cf. Casanova in *Bull. Inst. Eg.* i, 167.

²¹ *MAI, op. cit.*, v, 156.

²² *Aeg. Z.*, XL, 61.

²³ *CLÉDAT, Baouît*, ii, 119.

²⁴ Leyden, MS. copte 41 (*Catal. . . Antiq. coptes*, 1900).

²⁵ *Cairo Euchologion* (1902), p. 360. Transliterated in MS. Curzon 143, 61

وانبى.

²⁶ *MALAN, Calendar*, 3d Baremlhât.

²⁷ *CIG.*, 4883.

for the crosses 296 whereon the thieves hung?' Σ'ούβ., 'What man of sense would buy these pieces of wood, that are covered with the diseased humours 110007 NIABI of their bodies? They are good for naught but burning.' Archb., 'If it was a thief the Jews slew, wherefore requirest thou these 3000 *solidi* for this small piece 298 of wood, found in this Jew's house, and only one span long? For thou didst say to me that thieves' crosses were but good for burning, by reason of their evil odour. Why, O king, was it not likewise burnt, if a thief it were that hung thereon?' Then the σ'ούβ. was silent a long while, knowing not what to answer. At last he said, 'Verily I have been as dumb before thee. For I have talked with many sages σοφός and astrologers that do observe the stars, and they were silent.'

(B. 11) 'What I have heard from my fathers, that do I relate.' Σ'ούβ., 'My law doth write that God hath not known (?) woman neither begotten children: but that He is a spirit and a word, become as man.' Archb., 'If a man, how then made He water wine and cast out demons?' Σ'ούβ., []. Archb., []. Σ'ούβ., 'My law doth write that they set Him not upon the cross, but God did take Him up to heaven.' Archb., 'Whom then did they crucify?' Σ'ούβ., 'A man that was exchanged for Him, 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 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between 640 and *ca.* 900, when the Leipzig MS. was probably written? May we suppose that a post-mohammedan author has lent the features of his own time to an earlier age and that we have here one of the stories of the Cross's fate in Persia, whence it was retrieved, in 628, by Heraclius³¹? That emperor finds, it is true, no favour with the Copts, so that we should not look for the history of his good deeds in their literature; however, I incline to regard our text as relating to one of the several fragments of the Cross dispersed, during the 7th century, about the Persian empire—at Apamea, for instance, and at Ctesiphon. Indeed the title whereby the ‘governor’ in our text is once addressed: ‘king of **ΠΕΟΑΙΡΟΝΟΜΟΟC**,’ might almost be taken for a distortion of *Κτησιφώντος*. It was from Ctesiphon that a fragment was sent to Heraclius by Sarbaros.³² Yet the rôle of the Archbishop and the mention of the Jew’s house raise further difficulties.³³ I may add that the late Prof. RYSEL,³⁴ to whom I, some years ago, showed our text, was unable to identify it.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE (420).—Those *Synaxaria* which, on the 23rd Bâbeh, commemorate a Dionysius—several omit him—specify the martyr bishop of Corinth, excepting the interesting calendar in Abû ’l-Barakât’s *Miṣbâḥ aṣ-Ṣulmah*³⁵; that, like our text, has the Areopagite, ‘chief of the philosophers, the astrologer,’ whom other lists, however, assign to the 6th of the same month.³

GABRIEL (416).—This is from a very popular encomium on the archangel ascribed to Archelaus, a bishop whose diocese it is difficult to identify. Another copy, *Cod. Vatic. Copt.* lix,³⁷ wherein the identical miracle occurs, calls it Neapolis. This too is its name in the Sa’idic version and in a sermon attributed to the same writer.³⁸ The Vatican MS., opening (like the Sa’idic) with Ps. civ, 4 and 24,

³¹ I. A. J. BUTLER, *Arab. Conq.* 126, 164; NÖLDEKE, *Gesch. d. Perser* 391, 392; Eutychius *ed.* POCOCKE, ii, 213; Sebeos *ed.* MACLER, 89. On the oriental legends generally *v. le Chronique de Séert ed.* A. SCHER (*Patrol. Or.*, 1907), 272 ff. Procopius (GRETSER, *Opera*, ii, 413) and Cedrenus (DOBSCHÜTZ, *Christusbilder*, 47) relate an earlier recovery, in 574, of a fragment from Apamea.

³² GUIDI’s Syr. Chronicle (NÖLDEKE), Vienna Acad., *Stzh.* cxxviii (ix), 25, 32. SCHER, *op. cit.*, 274.

³³ Unless the archb. were a reminiscence of Ishoyab’s mission to Heraclius, NÖLDEKE, *Gesch.* 391, which is very improbable.

³⁴ I. Z. f. *Kirchengesch.* xv, 222; *Archiv f. Neuere Spr.* xciii, 1.

³⁵ Paris, *MS. arabe* 203, fol. 257 ff.

³⁶ NILLES, *Kalendarium*² ii, 708; ZOTENBERG, *op. cit.*, 157.

³⁷ MAI, *op. cit.*, v, 154.

³⁸ Paris, *MS. copte* 131¹, foll. 27–29; 131³, fol. 36.

tells how A. had once, in visiting the holy places at Jerusalem, gone to Siloam and arrived at the monastery of Romanus. The hospitable monks assign him an ἀναχωρητικόν and give him the keys of the library, kept in a small chapel. There, in an old book, he reads a σένταγμα of the Apostles, narrating an apocalypse, wherein Christ had spoken of the seven archangels. On returning home, A. is desirous to build a church to Gabriel, wherein he is encouraged by Nicolas, the bishop, 'whom I succeeded.' LE QUIEN knows neither an Archelaus nor a Nicolas of Neapolis. The Arabic version, however, of the encomium³⁹ calls his see Irâ ایرا, while in the *Synaxarium* (22nd Kihak) the church is built at Dânah داناه.⁴⁰ One calendar simply calls A. *episcopus Mesopotamiæ*.⁴¹ How can these statements be reconciled? The last of them recalls the legendary Archelaus of Kaskar. He however was known, at least to Shenoute, by his usual designation⁴². If, on the other hand, we would regard our author as historical, it must be considered that the founder of the monastery of Romanus lived under Marcian (*ob.* 457).⁴³

GEORGE (414).—This text is less prolix than Budge's Sa'idic. It may be noted that ΘΜΑ is here represented by ἀσκήριον.

GREGORY OF ARMENIA (422).—So, of course, instead of George, in A. 8. As to the other texts relating to this saint (Greg. Nyss., Encomium) on pp. 389, 395, etc., whereof we are promised an edition, it may be observed that a fragment of this very MS. is in the RYLANDS (CRAWFORD) collection and part (6 foll.) of a Sa'idic version at Oxford.⁴⁴

JACOBUS INTERCISUS (409, 411).—The sequence is D. 15, D. 16, A. 2. The 1st and 2nd of these recount the martyrdom of J.'s companions as follows. The king bids the soldiers surround them, and many are shot down and thus, like the penitent thief for a like

³⁹ Paris, MSS. arabe 145, 148.

⁴⁰ So FORGET, WÜSTENFELD, ZOTENBERG (Ethiop.); MAI, seems to read داناه (op. cit., iv, 103). The only Arabic name which suggests itself is دارا, which was a bishopric; LE QUIEN ii, 997.

⁴¹ So the very inadequate Latin version in NILLES, 712.

⁴² LEIPOLDT, *Shenoute*, 86. For the patriarchal chronicler (EVETTS, p. 196) this A. is bishop 'of a city in Syria.'

⁴³ Of his two foundations, probably that at Eleutheropolis is here meant, since one of the miracles concerns a man from Gaza. F. AHRENS-KRÜGER, *Zacharias*, 261, 306, 359; *Rev. Or. Chr.*, iii, 339; v, 272.

⁴⁴ Clar. Press, MSS. WOIDE, frag. 54.

confession, go to heaven. Then the king summons J., points to the crowd and the great *ὑπατικός*, which his 'magic' has brought to death, and to the arrows hanging in the air. Yet let him now but worship the **NOTHI**⁴⁵ of the Persians, and he shall go unharmed, for the sake of the late king's friendship. J. replies that the world's friendship is enmity with God (Ja. iv, 4). 'Let not the Nazarenes,' says the king, 'deceive thee, that this death is but a sleep. Even the great kings fear to die.' J. retorts that godless kings fear because [. (Evidently a text similar so far to that of Mombritius⁴⁶).

The 2nd leaf tells of further efforts to intimidate the martyr, who likens himself to the silent lamb (Is. liii, 7). The 3rd leaf corresponds to p. 4, l. 30—p. 5, l. 8 of the Vatican text printed by von LEMM.⁴⁷ To the other texts relative to J., enumerated by LEIPOLDT, may be added Paris vol. 129⁴⁸, foll. 78, 79. Is it a mere coincidence that the completion of his new *μάρτυριον* at Oxyrhynchus should fall upon the 3rd Mechir,⁴⁹ the festival of another James⁴⁹?

JOHN OF PSENHÔWT (412, 415).—AMÉLINEAU has identified this Psenhōwt.⁵⁰ Its description here as 'of Pjmathô,' clearly indicates a connection with the neighbouring Nathô-Leontopolis,⁵¹ and not with Ptenatô in the N.W. Delta. What the meaning of the element **OI-** or **OIN-** may be it is difficult to say.

JOHN (413).—This is John Colobus, the text being that of *Musée Guimet*, XXV, 361.

JOHN (421).—The date of commemoration shows this to be the *hegumenus* (read? **HHHH**) of Shihêt, often mentioned in the *Synaxarium*.⁵²

KRAJÔN (390, 394).—Clearly not an Egyptian name. I would suggest that **ΑΠΑΚΡΑΧΩΝ**, and especially **ΠΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΟΚΡΑΧΩΝ**,⁵³

⁴⁵ So my copy. Probably **NOTH**.

⁴⁶ *Sanctuarium* ii, 20 b. I owe the reference to Father P. Peeters.

⁴⁷ *Iberica* (St. Petersburg Acad., *Zapiski*, 1906).

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴⁹ MALAN'S *Calendar*, 30th Barmhât, shows that confusion might occur.

⁵⁰ *Géogr.* 417.

⁵¹ *I. Abû Şâlih*, ed. EVERTS, p. 270 n.

⁵² *I.* above, p. 289, also F. M. E. PEREIRA, *Abba Samuel* 153 and the references.

⁵³ HYVERNAT, *Actes* 93. The form **أبكرجون** (*Synax.*, 25th Abib) is hardly evidence; cf. **أبالزون**, **أبامون**, **أبسيزون**, which, like many more, contain **ΑΠΑ**.

represents Ἀποκράτωρ, a name common enough among Christians—several bishops bear it—though it happens not to occur in Coptic texts.⁵⁴ His story here is similar to that in the *Synaxarium*.⁵⁵ His home I read here as]**UEBAN**, LEIPOLDT as]**EBAN**; elsewhere it is **HEBAN**,⁵⁶ or, with the possessive, **HAHATAN**;⁵⁷ in Arabic بنوآن, in which **HA-** is added. Our 1st leaf (K. 25) describes him as well versed in Greek, a bold warrior and fair to look upon, **HAΓΓEA[BH]OTT EBAM NOTEINNH HKA[ΛOC]HE OTOT HEOTHOΛEY[IKOC?]HE HEBTEQXOU ENCEE[HE] HEQXINMAT EPOT**. His fellow-robber was the γραφεύς, Ap(a) Amoun (v. above); together they sat at the feet of a saintly (ἄγιος) old man—the monk in Scete, presumably, whom they had set out to rob. The 2nd leaf (K. 26) shows Apokr., after wearing the σχῆμα six years, taking leave of his ‘brethren,’ and setting out for **HEBAT**, to find the ἡγούμεν. In the 3rd leaf he is before the ‘kings,’ who wonder at his strength and beauty; for his shoulder **HOBY** reaches above all the soldiers. ‘’Tis well thou art come, O king of idols, that hast the keys of heaven and knowest it not, thou through whose cruelty many are borne up to God.’ He recalls the time when his fathers⁵⁸ crossed the Red Sea and God spoke to Moses.

⁵⁴ It is indeed found in the Nicene subscriptions (ZOEGA 244) as **APPO-KPATOP**.

⁵⁵ 25th Abib. *V. AMÉLINEAU, Actes* 94.

⁵⁶ HYVERNAT, *loc.*

⁵⁷ AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.* 86.


⁵⁸ Doubtless in the usual spiritual sense.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON SOME EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

II.

By W. L. NASH, F.S.A.


9. An oil jar in faience. Pale blue glaze. Inscribed  *sed heb*, "Festival oil," i.e., "oil for the *Sed* Festival." This oil is mentioned in most of the lists of offerings in temples and tombs, e.g., in the South Hall of Offerings in the Temple of Hatasu at Dêr el Bahari, and in the tomb of Henent at Sheikh Said.

In the Author's Collection.






10. Fragment of palette made of hard limestone. Inscribed on the right, "the scribe Nebneteru justified," and on the left, "Chantress of Amen Hunu."

In the Author's Collection.

11. Fragment of a jar made of hard crystalline limestone. From Abydos. Engraved with the figure of a king standing, holding in his right hand a sceptre, and his left an *ankh*. In front

of him is a rectangular cartouche with the names 

Sekhemab [Per]enmaat.

A clay jar-sealing with a similar inscription was found at Abydos in 1904.¹ The only variation between the two inscriptions is that in the jar-sealing the  sign is below the , and  (or ) below the , whereas in the inscription on my jar the relative positions of these signs are reversed.

¹ *Abydos*, III (E. E. Fund), Pl. IX, fig. 3.

This name Sekhem-ab is regarded by Prof. PETRIE² as the Horus name of a king whose Set name was Perabsen. Captain WEILL,³ on the other hand, regards the king named on the Abydos jar-sealing and on my vase, as a king, distinct from Perabsen, whose Horus name was Sekhemab and his Royal name Perenmaat.

In *Abydos*, III, p. 47, the jar-sealing is said to be of "an unknown king, Sekhem abt Per en maat."

The engraving on the jar is reproduced the full size of the original, but only part of the alabaster fragment—which measures 4 inches \times $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches—is given. *In the Author's Collection.*

12. Funerary model of a mace-head, made of hard grey limestone. The stone has not been merely bored for the insertion of a haft, but has been hollowed out so that the walls are a mere shell. The protruberance which has been worked on the upper surface is probably intended to represent the protruding end of the haft of a real mace. It was bought at Luxor, but probably came from Gebelên, where there are both prehistoric and XIIth dynasty tombs. Mr. AYRTON attributes it to prehistoric times.

In Mr. E. R. Ayrton's Collection.

² *R. T. H.*, p. 31.

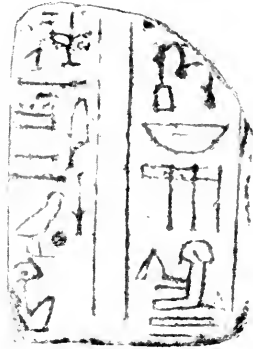
³ *Rec. de Travaux*, XXIX (1907), p. 32.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, December 11th, 1907, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Dr. Pinches: "The Legend of Merodach."



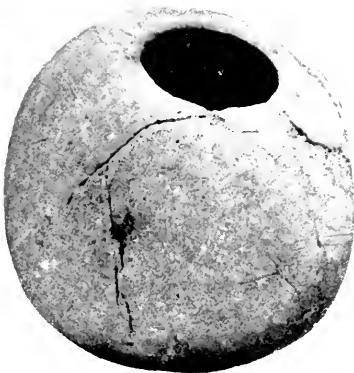
9.



10.



11.



12.

The illustrations are the full size of the originals.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION, 1907.

Seventh Meeting, December 11th, 1907.

THE REV. W. T. PILTER.

IN THE CHAIR.

The following gift to the Library was announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donor :—

From J. Pollard, Esq.—“Strange Survivals.” By S. Baring-Gould.

The following Paper was read :—

DR. PINCHES : “The Legend of Merodach.”

Thanks were returned for this communication.

HAGIOGRAPHICA FROM LEIPZIG MANUSCRIPTS.

BY W. E. CRUM.

(Continued from page 296.)

LONGINUS (422).—I supply this in A. 7^a, as more likely than Paul, 'first of hermits,' whom some calendars omit.⁵⁹ His career is described in the *Synaxarium*, 2nd Amshîr. He came from Cilicia to Alexandria, where he became abbot of one of the Henaton monasteries and showed himself a convinced anti-chalcedonian. In a Sa'idic text⁶⁰ he is represented offering to sign Marcian's $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$, brought by a *decurio*, if the other brethren **ⲙⲏⲏⲣ** assent; otherwise he will return to prison.⁶¹ His prayer under these trials is preserved in Ethiopic.⁶² In the 'Memoirs of Dioscorus' he is referred to as a friend of Marcarius of Tkôw.⁶³ He likewise figures in the *Apophthegmata*⁶⁴ and in the list of monastic heroes preceding the Life of John Colobus.⁶⁵ He may be the influential monk concerned in the election of Timothy Aelurus.⁶⁶ The monastery over which he presided was the **دير الزجاج**, commonly⁶⁷ rendered 'The Monastery of Glass.' The Arabic however could equally be read 'Glassmaker,' which is supported by the only Coptic mention of it known to me: **ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲁⲕⲧⲓⲡⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲁⲃⲁⲭⲟⲛⲓ** (read **ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲁ**)⁶⁸. On the other hand, a name still connected with the locality, *Kôm el-Zugâeg*, would seem to imply *Zugâgah*, 'glass.'⁶⁹

⁵⁹ Paul the Simple is found in that of NILLES (30th Amshîr). *V. Ethiop. Synax.*, 22d Sanê.

⁶⁰ A small fragm. among the Borgian MSS. at Naples, omitted by ZOEGLA. I found it in box 1 B 17. The title *decurio* might connect it with the passage in *Mission* iv (v. below).

⁶¹ Cf. the *Synaxarium*.

⁶² WRIGHT'S Catal., p. 225.

⁶³ *Mitth. Rainer* iv, 65, *Mission* iv, 135.

⁶⁴ MIGNE, PG. 65, 256.

⁶⁵ ZOEGLA 116. Has it been observed that this is a geographically classified and to some degree chronological list, wherein L. is the latest name?

⁶⁶ Zacharias *ed.* AHRENS-KRÜGER 24, 313, Peter the Iberian *ed.* RAABE 65.

⁶⁷ Since QUATREMÈRE, *Méms.* i, 485.

⁶⁸ Paris *arabe* 203, f. 167 ro. But the Ethiopic takes it as 'glass,' *mâhew*, where it does not merely transcribe the Arabic, *zēgâg*.

⁶⁹ Breccia in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, no. 9, 12.

MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN (393, 394, 396, 409).—K. 22, 32 and 24 deal with the translation of M.'s remains after his death, in 391, the *Life* by Sarapion⁷⁰ being cited as authority. The body was at first laid in the *σπήλαιον* over against the church that he had built, and forthwith attracted crowds to profit by its healing powers. But Pijjbêr, his native village, began to covet so valuable a relic and (says the *Synaxarium*⁷¹) with the aid of bribes⁷² succeeded in stealing it. A rich coffin and fine church now sheltered it, 'for the land of Egypt was in great plenty (*εὐθηνία*) in those days; for it was the time when the Romans were kings' (K. 24*b*). But Joseph, the *ἄρχων φιλόχριστος* of Elmi⁷³ (K. 24*a*), dissatisfied with this arrangement, **ΕΦΜΑΤ ΧΕΣΕΒΟΥ ΠΡΟΟΤΟΥ ΑΝ ΠΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΝΔΕΚΗΤΗΤ,** goes in solemn procession and takes possession of the body, **ΕΤΕΣΒΟΣ ΝΕΥΖΑΝΗΟΥ ΝΚΑΠΡΙΚΟΣ ΕΟΛΥ ΒΕΛΜΙ ΟΤΟΣ ΝΑΡΕ-ΖΑΝΚΕΗΟΥ ΠΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΟΣ**⁷⁴ **ΠΟΥ ΝΕΥΚΟΤ ΉΕΟΤΗΝΩΤ ΝΛΙΩΗ.** This was in A.M. 500 = A.D. 784. The *Synaxarium* tells us that it had lain at Pijjbêr 'over 160 years, until the dominion of the Arabs,' *i.e.* from before A.D. 480. Joseph sets about building a church for it (K. 24). But we learn from the *Synaxarium*⁷⁵ that John, the Patriarch of the day (775-799), having, at the customary Lenten retreat at Dair Abû Makâr, expressed the desire to see the saint's body in their midst again, the porter⁷⁶ of the monastery, with other brethren go to Elmi to beg it. But the people and the *wâlî* (= ? the same Joseph) resist, until persuaded by a vision. Then the monks, amid sorrowing crowds, depart by river to Mariût, where the throng is such that only by scattering coin as a counter-attraction (*لعلهم يستغلون جمعهم*) can they attain the church. Next day they enter the desert and, resting only at the spot—recognized by the camel's halting—where the cherub had taken Macarius's hand,⁷⁷

⁷⁰ ZOEGA, pp. 45, 132, *ed.* AMÉLINEAU, *Musée Guimet* XXV, 46.

⁷¹ 27th Barmhât (my Cairo copy).

⁷² John, M.'s avaricious disciple (*Laus. Hist.* BUTLER ii, 44), is named as the culprit.

⁷³ In the *Synax.* (*cf.* below) spelt **المه**, a variant of **المجة** or **الما** (DE SACY), so confirming AMÉLINEAU's identification (*Géogr.* 163).

⁷⁴ F. PÉTRIDES in *Echos d'Orient* 1904, 341, my Brit. Mus. Cat. no. 1013, *Rev. Or. Chr.* 1906, 47.

⁷⁵ 19th Mesori (as before).

⁷⁶ **امنوت GUNOT'T.** He was an important official in Egyptian monasteries. In several deeds (*Br. Mus. Or.* 6201 A, &c.) 'the porter of the *φιλοπόνιον* of the Archangel Gabriel' represents the community.

⁷⁷ F. *Musée Guimet*, xxv, 57; QUATREMÈRE, i. 460.

they reach the monastery, and deposit their burden in the church. This took place, we learn from leaf K. 22, in A.D. 831. There are many details in this curious story which would repay further inquiry.

Another leaf from the same MS. (K. 23) relates also to the monastery of Macarius. For it has the title and commencement of the story of Benjamin's vision (ὁπτασία), when visiting it to consecrate the newly built church,⁷⁸ presumably that here referred to as 'the σκληρή of Benjamin.' Traces of a Sa'idic text treating of this are extant,⁷⁹ which tell how the frescoes (λινύνη) on the walls—Anthony, Paul, Pachôm, and Macarius, and the archbishops Mark, Peter, Athanasius, Liberius, Cyril, and Dioscorus—miraculously greeted the patriarch at his entry.

Macarius is further the subject of a leaf (409) from the story of his dispute with a heretic, possibly—seeing that the resurrection is in question—the Hieracite ascete of whom we hear elsewhere, though our text does not, I think, occur exactly in the Vatican MS.⁸⁰

MARK (385).—Elsewhere, 'Our father Abba M. in the hill of Anthony,'⁸¹ which scarcely helps us towards his identification. Malan, whose calendar alone commemorates him (8th Abib), takes him (without apparent ground) for the M. of the *Lausiac History*. A MS. hymn-book, belonging to Mr. C. T. Curelly, says that he retired to 'the hill of ΖΕΡΕΝΗΟΥC,' i.e. probably ΖΕΝΕΡΗΟΥC.

MARY THE VIRGIN (399, 400, 405, 407, 408, 412, 416, 417).—It is difficult to ascertain the relationships between these twelve fragments: my notes, at any rate, do not permit me to do so here.

XXVII, 3; XXVI, A. 2; XXVIII, 8, from one MS., belong to the story of Matthias among the Parthians ('Bartos'), and the help rendered him by the Virgin's magic prayer.⁸² The first (without a parallel in BASSET's texts) relates the governor's amazement on learning that the chains (*lit.* stocks⁸³) had melted in (the jailer's?) hands. Others

⁷⁸ EVETTS, *Patr. Hist.*, 504 ff., a 'restored' (مستجدة) church: *Synax.* 8th Tûbah (FORGET), 'a new' (جديدة) church.

⁷⁹ Paris MS. cople 129¹⁴, 125.

⁸⁰ I. BUTLER, *Laus. Hist.* ii, 194 (28), Preuschen, *Pallad. u. Ruf.* 126. Hierax ΠΙΣΙΕΡΑΚΑC is attacked in a long passage in Paris 131², 100, an interesting text, with which cf. Athanasius, *PG.* 28, 516.

⁸¹ Cairo *Euchologion* (1902), 360.

⁸² V. BASSET, *Apocr. Ethiop.* v, where the piece is ascribed to Cyril of Jerusalem, and *P.S.B.A.* xix, 210.

⁸³ ΓΦΑΛΛΙC = σφαλλός. We are not told that wood too was affected by the magic.

declare that when at work upon **ΣΑΝΙΛΟΣ ΝΚΕΦΑΛΕΩΝ** for the king of Persia, the iron had become as water. The second leaf⁸⁴ tells how the Virgin bade the idols go down to Hell **ΠΙΧΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΦΗΟΤΗ**, there to await judgment; how, as she proceeds to her seat beside Macrinus, the governor, the standards (*σέλιμον*) bow down **ΝΕΒΕΧΕΧΟΟΥ**, and how, amid thunder and lightning, the dead arise, the *ταμίαι* of the earth (*χαῖς*) are revealed. These *κόλασεις* and *βασάνοι* serve, says the third leaf,⁸⁵ to bring the townsfolk to be baptized by Matthias. And as the Virgin is giving him orders for the town **ΕΕΤ ΝΠΟΩΥ ΝΤΒΑΚΙ ΝΑΩ**, a dove descending upon her, sings her praises.

XXIV O. 50; XXV, 21 are from the sermon by Basil of Caesarea on the Virgin's church, built 'while Eumenius was governor of the east,⁸⁶ and consecrated by Basil on the 21st Paone.⁸⁷ The first leaf opens in a digression warning men against sexual intercourse **ΕΡΑΝΑΝΤΑΙ ΕΝΟΤΕΡΗΟΤ** on 'catholic' days, that is, days of divine service (*συνάγισθαι*), 'especially the great days of Epiphany⁸⁸ and the blessed day of St. Mary and that of the *ἁγία κυριακή*.' Then B. recounts a vision, wherein the Virgin tells him of a heathen temple whence the two pillars (*στυλλοι* *sic* as usual) needed for the church, but possessed, since the days of the giants **ΑΦΩΦ**, by demons, may, by Christ's help, be brought, and upon which her statue⁸⁹ (*στήλη*) may be erected. The second leaf narrates a repetition of the vision and Basil's discouragement at the difficulty of his task.

Other leaves relate to the *Transitus* of the Virgin. XXIV, p. 49, has the title and beginning of an account by Peter and John of the appearance to Mary of Jesus surrounded by the children whom Herod had slain. The text differs from those published, but, so far, is sufficiently like the sermon of Theodosius.⁹⁰ Leaves XXV, 30, 31,

⁸⁴ BASSET, p. 67 *infra*.

⁸⁵ Differs from BASSET.

⁸⁶ No such *comes orientis* appears to be known.

⁸⁷ MAI, *Ser. Vet. Nov. Coll.* v, 163; Arabic in *ib.* iv, 310, *Paris arabe* 154; v, also *Synax.* sub die = Sané, ed. GUIDI (*Patr. Or.*), 648, and ZOTENBERG'S *Ethiop. Cat.*, p. 67.

⁸⁸ F. CRUM, *Ostraca*, no. 29 n. **ΟΤΤΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ** thus also in C. SCHMIDT, *T. u. U.*, NF. v, p. 6, ROSSI, *I Papiri* i, v, 9. Cf. Ps. 80 (81), 3, *εὐσημος*, and STERN in *Aeg. Z.*, 1884, 147, whence it may be that 'Epiphany' here is too precise.

⁸⁹ Ar. *موردة*. DOBSCHÜTZ, *Christusbilder* 59, does not mention this.

⁹⁰ F. ROBINSON, p. 92, II.

treat of the promises made by Christ to the Virgin on behalf of those who shall commemorate her, and XXV, 22, 23, 35 may belong here. To the MS. of XXVI, A. 1 belong the leaves in the RYLANDS (CRAWFORD) collection; they tell of the Virgin's death and burial and of the attempt of the Jews to seize the body.⁹¹

MICHAEL (401, 402).—The sequence is XXV, 10, 9, 8. These are from the Encomium by Eustathius. They correspond to parts of pp. 132, 133 of DR. BUDGE's text.⁹² Leaf XXV, 15 likewise relates to Michael, being from the *καθ' ἡγήσεις* of Peter of Alexandria in Cod. Vatic. Copt. LXI.⁹³ The passage tells of the letter written by Eumenius of Alexandria to his colleagues **ἘΦΗΡ ΠΑΡΧΗΘ- [ΠΙΣ]ΚΟΝΟΣ**, Evodius **ΕΥΧΟΛΙΟΣ** of Antioch and Theodore of Rome,⁹⁴ announcing the destruction throughout Egypt **ἘΛΕΞΗΘΗ ΕΝΙΧΩΡΑ ΕΤΕΑΒΟΛ** by Michael, of the temples, on the 12th Hathor, a great pagan festival, and the conversion of that day into the feast of the archangel.⁹⁵

PACHOMIUS (396, 401).—Two leaves, probably from one MS. The first corresponds to a passage otherwise extant only in the Arabic.⁹⁶ The text of the second is new. Its page-number, **ἮΚΣ**, makes it very probable that this, and also the other, paged **ἮΚ**, belong to the 147 missing from AMÉLINEAU's text.⁹⁷ This new text narrates an address, apparently by the elder brethren, to Theodore, who has evidently been newly substituted for Horsîési, reminding him how Pachôm has befriended his humble beginnings, and how, like Joseph, he had now been raised to high office, and exhorting him to maintain their father's precepts. After they had made this statement (*ὁμολογία*) in his presence, they declare: 'We are ready to give our obedience (*ὑποταγή*) to the holy community (*κοινωνία*) of our righteous father.' Theodore then leaves 'the 8 *hegumeni*' in Pboou,⁹⁸ to weave mats (**ἸΑΛΕ ΘΟΥ**) like the rest of the

⁹¹ The text is that of F. ROBINSON, 116, 25, to 118, 19.

⁹² *St. Michael the Archangel*.

⁹³ MAI, *op. cit.*, v, 156.

⁹⁴ Eumenius, *ob.* 143, Evodius, second bishop of Antioch, Theodore i, *ob.* 649.

⁹⁵ For Eutychius's account of this change, v. RENAUDOT, 80, 81.

⁹⁶ *Musée Guimet* xvii, 545.

⁹⁷ Cod. Vatic. lxix. I. *Musée Guimet*, xvii, 214. HYVERNAT's *Album* shows no specimen of the script, wherewith to compare ours.

⁹⁸ Cf. *Musée Guimet* 101.

brethren, while he sets out to visit and confirm the monasteries **ΜΟΝΑΧΟΙ** in the *νόμοι* and *κανόνες* of Pachôm. On his return to Pboou, the *hegumeni* go forth to welcome him. It is unfortunate that this leaf does not help in deciding the question as to an independent Life of Theodore.⁹⁹

PIJIMI (396).—Another leaf is to be added here: XXV, 1 is from the same MS. and from the history of the same saint.

SERGIUS (422).—In A. 9 I would suggest **Π]ΚΕΚΕΠΗ ΝΤΕ ΛΟΡΗΒΙ**, referring to the company slain with Sergius. See also p. 391.

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH (404).—XXV, 37 is, I think, the upper half of XXV, 16.

SIMEON STYLITES (421).—In A. 5^a *σπατηλάτης* is doubtless a mistake for *στυλῆτης*. V. ZOEGA, p. 62.

SISINNIVS (417, 392, 406, 404).—These leaves are not from one MS. (to judge by what pagination remains); as to the text however, their sequence is XXVII, 12; XXIV, I. 16; XXV, 25, 18, 19. All are from the sermon of Cyril, upon circumspection (**ΚΤΗΦΕΙΝ** for *νήφειν*) of soul, in view of death.¹⁰⁰ The Leipzig texts differ but little from AMÉLINEAU'S, whereof they correspond to pp. 177, 15—179, 2; 180, 8—181, 15; 190, 2—191 top, 191, 7—192, 12, respectively. Sisinnius is again met with in the story of the church built by Theodosius II for Raphael,¹⁰¹ and is there called 'the eunuch' and 'the *σπατηλάτης*.'

STEPHEN AND GAMALIEL (402).—The very dilapidated text tells how, on the second day of the week, the narrator guided [the bishop] and clergy to a certain spot, where, after prayer, they dug a fathom (**ΖΟΓΤ**) and found a cave; how John the bishop [**ΚΟ]ΔΗΝΗC ΠΕ[ΠΗCΚΟΗC]** recognized the body of Stephen and placed it in a silver *γλωσσόκομον*; how, while seeking that of Gamaliel, Stephen (*sic*) appeared and bade the bishop be now content and have this garden tended (?)

This is evidently a version of Lucian's well-known narrative,¹⁰²

⁹⁹ V. AMÉLINEAU, *l. c.*, pp. lii, liii; LADEUZE, *Étude*, 48.

¹⁰⁰ *Mission au Caire*, iv, 165.

¹⁰¹ ZOEGA *celvi*, Paris 132¹, 5-10(?). Another church of Raphael is ascribed to Arcadius, in a sermon of Pseudo-Chrysostom; Paris 131¹, 47, 132¹, 12.

¹⁰² Adopted by the *Synax.* on 15th Tūl. In the various copies, however, there is great confusion between the Martyrdom, Invention, and Translation. P. 1st Tūbah.

with the substitution of Stephen for Gamaliel as appearing to the bishop, as in the redactions indicated by M. NAU.¹⁰³ There is also a Sa'idic text relating to Stephen: an encomium by a bishop of Jerusalem, telling of the miracles worked at the *τὸ πῶς*.¹⁰⁴ It is strange that the supposed Translation effected by Cyril of Alexandria should not be traceable in Coptic literature.¹⁰⁵

THEODORE STRATELATES (413, 414, 415).—Guided by Zoega's text,¹⁰⁶ I should propose the sequence XXVI, G. 32, 30, 31, 34, 33, 28.

THOMAS OF SHENDELET (398, 399).—The sequence is, to judge by the *Synaxarium*, as catalogued; the Rylands fragment would stand between leaves 46 and 47.¹⁰⁷

THREE CHILDREN (416).—I suspect that these leaves are either from the encomium of Theophilus or from that of Cyril.¹⁰⁸ The first phrases relate perhaps to miracles: this would point to the latter. They might indeed be found to belong to the mutilated copy of these (?) works in the Vatican.¹⁰⁹

Finally, I would call attention to a marginal note, a 'rubric,' occurring in XXIV, K. 22 and 23. Opposite the quotations from Pss. cxxi, 4 and xxxiv, 8 a second hand has written **ΦΩΝΕ**, inserting a sign in the text at the close of each quotation. This imperative seems to be an indication to 'translate.' The whole being in Coptic, it may show that biblical passages were, at public readings of the work,¹¹⁰ to be given in Greek or in Arabic. Chronologically the latter is possible¹¹¹; but, remembering the tradition that Arabic was persistently excluded from the services at the Macarian monastery,¹¹² we might assume that Greek is the language intended. It is a point of some liturgical interest; but it must be confessed that the Coptic word in question does not normally mean 'translate.'

¹⁰³ *Rev. Or. Chr.*, 1906, 213.

¹⁰⁴ Paris 1317, 20; Cairo, no. 8018; ZOEGA cxxiii, all one MS.

¹⁰⁵ PEETERS in *Anal. Bolland.* xxiv, 137.

¹⁰⁶ P. 58.

¹⁰⁷ The reference to my Brit. Mus. Catal. is an error; Thomas there is the apostle.

¹⁰⁸ MAI, *op. cit.*, v, p. 158; ZOEGA, p. 107.

¹⁰⁹ MAI, p. 166.

¹¹⁰ The headings to several of such texts (ZOEGA, pp. 26, 28, 99, 108, 121 note) demonstrate this use.

¹¹¹ The MSS., and these rubrics, are of the ninth or tenth centuries.

¹¹² V. QUATREMÈRE, *Recherches*, 38.

NOTE ON THE CHRONICLE OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, *M.A.*

The appearance of Mr. L. W. KING's superb "Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings" (Luzac and Co., 1907) and Dr. A. UNGNAD's splendid article in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* on *Die Chronologie der Regierung Ammiditana's und Ammisaduga's* furnish further material for the completion of the previously known date lists of the First Dynasty, as left by Mr. KING in his *Chronicle of the Kings of Babylon* in the *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* (Luzac and Co., 1900). Dr. UNGNAD's new list gives the dates for the whole of the reign of Ammiditana and the first sixteen years of Ammisaduga. Mr. KING publishes a date list which gives the length of the reign of Abešuh and fills up some of the lacunae in previous lists. The treatment of their material by these scholars can hardly be improved and, though opinions may differ on small details, they have added greatly to our knowledge.

It is satisfactory to the writer to point out that most of the conjectures which he hazarded in the *Proceedings* for March 13, 1907 (*Babylonian Chronicle of First Dynasty*, pp. 107 ff.), prove to have been correct; and this may be some excuse for attempting a few more. They are founded upon the dates actually occurring on tablets and, of course, there would be no means of assigning them to their proper places but for the work already done by previous writers. All honour to them, as is due.

The date for the 13th year of Samsu-iluna should be *MU INIM DLVGIR-EN-LÍL-BI-TA KI-SUR-RA-KI Sa-bu-um-KI BI-DA-GE*. Unfortunately neither the published lists nor dated tablets as yet give the verb of the sentence, so that we do not know what it was that Samsu-iluna did to the cities of Kisurra and Sabum, but it is a relief to be rid of the puzzling *tabbum* from this date. The date of the 14th year appears to be *MU LUGAL IM-GE KAR ú*

INIM-BI GÁL-LA INIM-TA-NE: but, in view of the doubtful nature of the reading, a rendering is still precarious.

For the reign of Ammiditana, Dr. UNGNAD's article gives a year name for every year; generally in a short form, which he succeeded in filling out, in most cases, from the dates used on tablets already published or preserved in the rich collections of the Berlin Museum. Such completions are most valuable, from the historical point of view, as the shortened forms often leave considerable doubt as to the real nature of the event commemorated.

The short form given by the Berlin date list for the 7th year of Ammiditana occurs on two tablets, but neither gives a decisive reading for the sign which Dr. UNGNAD doubtfully reads as *KA + MI*. For the 9th year a fuller form is *MU NAM-GAL KI-DUR DINGIR Marduk-GE Ma-aš-ka-an Am-mi-di-ta-na-KI GŪ ÍD UD-KIB-NUN-KI*. For the 13th year a fuller form appears to be *MU ÁŠ-ME GAL-GAL-LA NA GAB-ŠI-A-GE ŠÚ-NIR-RA NI-ÍB-GI-EŠ-A Ê-BAR-RA-KU IN-TU-RA*. The meaning of *ÁŠ-ME* is fixed by the date of a year in Samsu-ditana's reign of which Dr. L. MESSERSCHMIDT gave nearly the full text in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* for July, 1905, col. 268 ff. There the signs lost at the beginning are to be restored from dated tablets as *ÁŠ-ME* followed by *ÁŠ-ÁŠ-A* which Dr. UNGNAD has shown to be the sign of the plural. The Semitic rendering of this word is given as *šamšātīm* and this must be accusative plural of *šamšatu*, or possibly *šamšu*. The meaning of *ÁŠ-ME* is therefore "a sun," in the sense of a disk or artificial representation of the sun. In a list of a bride's dowry we find, as Dr. UNGNAD has shown, an *ÁŠ-ME* of gold, of the weight of four shekels. Here then Ammiditana made a grand "sun" of *dušû* stone for the *šurinnu* and caused it to enter the temple *Ê-Babbar* at Sippara. Just thirty years later, Ammizaduga, in his 6th year made a great "sun," like the sun in its brightness, for the *šurinnu* and caused it to enter *Ê-Babbar*. The same thing was done again, with greater magnificence, by Samsu-ditana, who made (two?) such "suns" (thirty years later?) again of *dušû* stone, like the sun in brightness, adorned with lapis-lazuli, red gold, and pure silver, "and for Shamash his exalted lord who had extended his kingdom, dedicated them in Êbarra." The three dates, Ammiditana 13, Ammizaduga 6, and Samsu-ditana 14(?), thus explain and complete one another. What the "sun" in the temple of Shamash was like may be gathered from its representation on the oft-published *Cultustafel*

of Sippara, see the plate XXII in the British Museum *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* and the account of it on p. 128. The disk stands upon an altar which is probably the *šurinnu* of the date lists. Although this representation is of much later date, Nabû-apliddina, *circa* B.C. 870, yet the religious conservatism in Babylonia seems to warrant us in using it for illustration of the ritual at least a thousand years earlier.

A fuller form of the date for the 32nd year of Ammiditana adds the verb *NE-AN-RU-A-AN*. For the year 35, Dr. UNGER's suggestion that the name of the canal *ME-DINGIR-EN-LIL* does not mean "Waters of Ellil," but is to be read *Paraş-Ellil*, is supported by the form *MA-R-ZA-(DINGIR-EN-LIL)*, but, owing to the defective state of the tablet, is not yet absolutely certain.

The year name for the 1st year of Ammizaduga may be completed by the verb *NE-IB-GU-UL-LA*. It may help towards the rendering of the date of the 2nd year to note that *BAL* is sometimes preceded by *GIS* and that the missing signs before the verb appear to be *ŠU-BI*. In the 6th year some tablets insert after *UD-GIM* the verb *AN-NE-EN-DIM-MA-(A)*, as in the corresponding Samsu-ditana date commented on above. The date for the 7th year may be completed by *É-BAR-RA-KU AN-NE-EN-TU-RA*.





Space forbids a fuller examination of the many interesting additions to our knowledge of this period made by the Berlin tablet, but one cannot help noticing the preponderance of Sippara in the events chosen for year names. Can this be solely due to the fact that our information chiefly comes from that city? The year-names were used throughout the kingdom, yet nothing of note is recorded of Babylon or other great cities as a rule.

SOME EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE SOANE MUSEUM.


BY JEAN CAPART.

I have recently noticed in the Soane Museum in London three Egyptian monuments which, hitherto, do not seem to have attracted much attention.

1.

On the first floor is a fragment of a statuette in stone (No. 163) of a priest wearing the panther's skin. On his skirt is a vertical line of hieroglyphs   ^{stc}  . On the back, also in a vertical line,

is the inscription

 The inscription here ends on the side of the plinth, where can be read the end of the person's name

This is therefore a statuette of "the chief priest of Hieraconpolis, MA." Without pretending to fix with exactitude the date of the statuette, I am inclined to refer it to the time of the New Empire.

2.

In the basement are two stelæ (which I distinguish as A and B) of the Middle Empire, which certainly come from Abydos.

A. (No. 447). This stele is especially interesting for the name of the person to whom it is dedicated.

At the top is the Seal Q and the two Eyes. Below are eight vertical lines of inscription :—

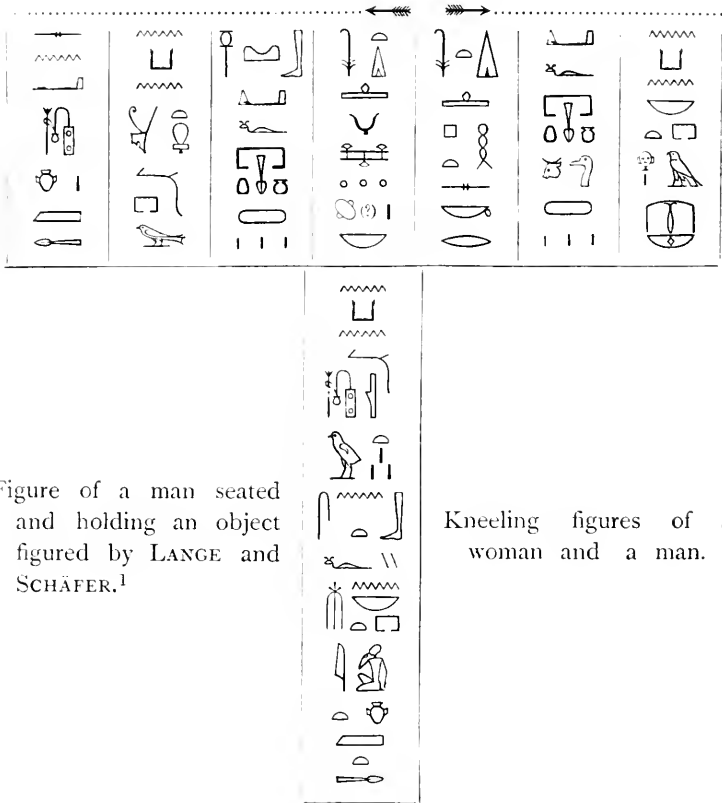
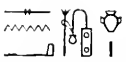




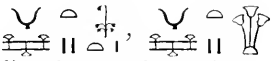
Figure of a man seated and holding an object figured by LANGE and SCHÄFER.¹

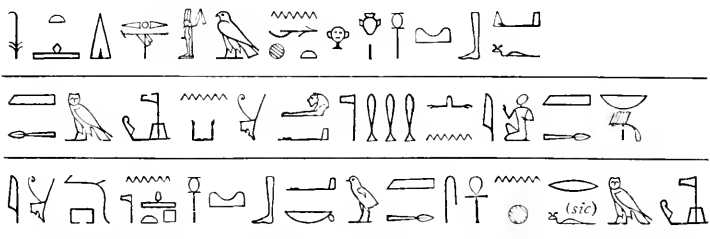
Kneeling figures of a woman and a man.



- Upper lines, Left. { "A Royal Offering to Apuat the embalmer (?), Lord of Abydos, may he grant funeral gifts to the *Ka* of the Royal Chancellor, chief of the great house, the scribe Sena-ab."
- Upper lines, Right. { "A Royal Offering to Ptah Sokaris, may he give funeral gifts to the *Ka* of the mistress of the house Herhorheb."
- Lower line. { "To the *Ka* of the chief scribe of the workmen, Senbetefi, son of the mistress of the house Itab justified."

¹ Cf. LANGE and SCHÄFER, "*Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs.*" Vol. IV, Pl. XC, fig. 535.

The principal person bears the same name,  *Sena-ab*, as that of the king known by a stele discovered by MARIETTE² at Abydos, and now in the Cairo Museum. Certain peculiarities enabled MARIETTE to group around this stele a whole series of monuments discovered at Abydos and dating from the end of the Middle Empire (XIIIth–XIVth dynasties).³ The stelæ in the *Catalogue d'Abydos*, Nos. 794, 799, 802, also give the Royal name  as the name of private persons. It must be noted that the Royal Stele shows the king adoring  *Min-Hor-nekht*, son of Osiris, who is frequently invoked in the stelæ that MARIETTE places in this group, and this enables us to adjoin the stele in the Soane Museum, next described.

B. (No. 448). At the top are represented the two jackals of the South and North . Below are three lines of hieroglyphs, reading from Left to Right.



"A Royal Offering to Min-Hor-nekht in Abydos, may he grant that the *Ka* of the chief of the Priests Neni may be true of voice in the necropolis." The stele is dedicated by "The chief of the house of divine offerings at Abydos, Akou, who makes his name live anew in the necropolis." The inscription continues  , "Son of Deda," behind the figure of the deceased,

² MARIETTE, "*Abydos*" II, Pl. 27—" *Catalogue des Monuments d'Abydos*." No. 771, pp. 236, 237; also MASPERO, "*Guide to the Cairo Museum*," 1906, p. 94.

³ MARIETTE, "*Catalogue*," pp. 238–257.

The Memorials of James the Persian.

“At that time dwelt the blessed James in (Beth)lapate the city of . . . in the kingdom of the Persians. He was noble and was (called?) by the name of (son of?) the palace. And he was a noble (?) Christian. His mother

(*Verso*) It is not right for thee to turn back from the way of truth, wishing to please a mortal and temporal king. Thou hast changed the true Christian faith for the vain faith of the Persians (?), and preferred to please a mortal king (rather than) Christ the (immortal) king. And thou didst take thought (before?) the king and his temporal . . . from the love.”

The James here referred to is Jacobus Intercisus, martyred in Persia, Nov. 27, 421 A.D.: compare the Syriac martyrdom in *Assemani Act. Mart. Or.*, I., 237 fol., and the Latin in *Mombritius Acta SS.*, II., 22.

JOHN (CHRYSOSTOM).

Copt. 3, 8:—

RECTO.

ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲓⲥⲧⲟⲙⲏⲡⲧⲉⲛⲏⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ
 ⲟⲩⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲛⲏⲓⲥⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲛⲓⲕⲟ
 ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲏⲟⲩⲧⲡⲟ
 ⲁⲓⲥⲉⲁⲓⲕⲉⲗⲁⲓⲕⲉⲗⲁⲃⲁⲥⲓⲁⲓⲟⲩⲡⲉ
 ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁⲩⲉⲧⲉ
 ⲟⲩⲩⲟⲛⲏⲩⲉⲗⲁⲛⲏⲉⲁⲓⲕⲧⲟⲓ
 ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲁⲩⲧⲏⲧⲏⲓⲕⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩ
 ⲧⲟⲛⲁⲓⲕⲉⲃⲟⲕⲉⲧⲏⲧⲉ
 ⲟⲛⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉⲩⲉⲛⲕⲧⲏⲏⲁ
 ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲓⲕⲉⲓⲟⲩⲉⲥⲓⲧⲁⲛⲩⲉⲗⲁ

VERSO.

ⲉⲧⲟ ⲧⲏⲩⲟⲩⲧⲉ
 ⲣⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲟⲛⲏⲁⲓⲡⲉⲭⲟ
 ⲉⲧⲏⲧⲁⲧⲏⲏⲁⲧⲏⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁ
 ⲭⲉⲩⲏⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲧⲟⲛⲁⲧ
 ⲛⲏⲟⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲗⲁⲗⲭⲓⲉⲃⲟ
 ⲗⲏⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲏⲟⲩⲛ
 ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲧⲏⲟⲩⲙⲧⲓⲁⲛⲁⲧ
 ⲥⲟⲛⲁ ⲙⲉⲧⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛⲁⲣ
 ⲛⲓⲉⲧⲏⲏⲁⲧⲕⲁⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧ
 ⲫⲧⲓⲥⲓⲕⲉⲓⲕⲉⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲉⲧ

Recto, l. 10, ⲧⲧⲉ, Des R.

Verso, l. 2, ⲛⲉⲭⲓⲕ or ⲛⲉⲭⲟ, Des R.

RECTO—*continued*.

ⲁⲛⲛⲓⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ · ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲧⲛⲉ
 ⲡⲓⲧⲟⲛⲛⲓⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲥⲃⲁⲥⲓⲛ
 ⲟⲥⲁⲧⲓⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲕⲟⲡⲓⲛ
 ⲛⲉⲣⲁⲭⲉⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ
 ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲁⲭⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲥⲱⲩⲁⲣ
 ⲕⲧⲟⲩⲡⲓⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡⲓⲉ
 ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲉⲭⲓⲥⲓⲥ
 . . . ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲓⲧⲟ

VERSO—*continued*.

ⲁⲣⲁⲧⲕ · ⲁⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧⲉⲁⲩⲁ
 [ⲭⲓ]ⲥⲧⲟⲥⲧⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲁⲓ
 ⲙⲁⲭⲉⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲟⲛⲡⲉⲓⲭⲟ
 ⲟⲩⲉ · ⲧⲓⲧ ⲟⲩⲉⲧ
 [ⲓ]ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉⲧⲱⲉⲧⲟ
 ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲣⲓⲛⲧ
 ⲛⲟⲟⲉⲧⲓⲛⲁⲧ
 ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲁ . . .

Verso, ll. 13-14, **ⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ** or **ⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ**, DES R.

“A letter of the blessed John the Archbishop of Constantinople, which he wrote to Basil the Bishop of Caesaria concerning a Greek brother who turned away from the right faith and went to the Gentiles for the sake of his fathers’ possessions which the Greeks had taken. When they gave (him) the letter of Saint Basil, through the advancement of his good words and the sweetness of his teaching, he turned back again to the faith of Christ Jesus midst of . . .

(*Verso*) They have thy good words which are to them as law. Many learned from thee in great to the spiritual state. For that which happens to those after their nature, happens to those with thee. My unworthy self advanced; I spake in honour of pardon for . . .”

In conclusion, I append what would seem to be copies of ostraca—the first certainly is an ostrakon, as DES RIVIÈRES has written above it, “J’ai envoyé cette brique à Peyron”—which occur on loose sheets of paper in MS. Copt. 3 without any numbers. In some cases DES RIVIÈRES seems to have experienced difficulty in reading them; this is especially the case with No. 2, in which he often copies the cursive writing. The last is written in large capitals, and seems to be part of a gravestone.

(I.)

АНОК
 ꝥ ПАТЛОЕИ
 ЕЛАХУЕГСА
 ПНЕФУРЕПЕ
 ТРОСХВАРТАГА
 ПИП'ЕІЕГОТИП
 КОСНФІП'ПАТЛОС
 АТЕЙКОЗАПННЕС
 ГОТННЕНТИ

(2.)

+ УОРПНН	АФНКЕНПКЕСЕПЕ
ЗОВИП'ПРОСКТ	ХООФПАТАПНН'ХНЕРП
ПНН'УОВ'УННЕТНЕТ	ПНАТЗГТААТИННЕНІОТЕ
ОТАВАРТАГАПННТЕ	АТОТАВАПА'САКШАПААН
ТИУАНАЕХ'О'Н'ЕХ'О'Т	МАСННАКСОВПЕТН
САОРЕНАКН'Е . . . О . . .	УНРЕР
УХООФСОФНН'УААН . .	

l. 3, cf. CRUM, *Copt. Ost.* 93, ППРОСКТ, ПУАВ'У ПН'Е ОТРЕТЕ
 ЕТОТАВ.

l. 5, ЕХ'ОР corrected to ЕХ'О'.

l. 6, Р or В, DES R. ПН are uncertain.

l. 7, the last letters of the line are quite uncertain.

l. 9, ХЕЕФР ТАГАПН suggests itself as a likely emendation of the
 beginning of this line.

(3.)

ЕГТРАФН

догрия $\overline{\text{пл}}_1$ лх

—
ΔΙΟΚΙΣΑΚΤΟΥΡΕΙ

ПАТЛОСПРИОТАМТЕККАМ

$$\text{C}1\text{A}6\text{C}2\text{A}1\text{P}0\text{E}0\text{F}1\text{A}5\text{E}2\text{A}1\text{O}[C]$$

ΑΠΛΕΤΟΠΟΙΟΠΟΧΟΣΙΠΤΟΟΤ

ИХИИГ • ХӨГЖИХСӨНТӨНДӨНХӨЛ

КЛОССАХАНАФМАПРОТИНОИ

иос · арип̄аи · ф · · · зохок, оиас

простинує простинує

титулакипрпросен

ΤΑΥΤΗΑΚΥΡΩΣΗ

ΔΙΠΛΩΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΤΗΣ · ΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΗΣ

ΛΑΠΡΙΟΓΓΑΣΠΑΣΕΙΤΟΚ

IXXJOH

1. I, the reading is quite uncertain. DES R. attempts to facsimile the original. It would seem to be *ἐγγραφον*.

1. 2, I am not sure if $\mathbf{1A}$ or $\mathbf{1A}$ is intended, probably $\mathbf{1A}$.

1. 13, XI], XE, cf. CRUM, III.

(4.)

..... ΕΙ

ΟΤΑΔΒΠΡΟΣ.....

... ΕΠΕΚΟΤΕΤΟΤ[ΔΒ]

... ΠΑΤΑΟΣΤΙΝΟΟΤ

ΕΤΒΕΠΧΟΝΕΠΧΑ

... ΛΑΦΥΑΡΗΑ...

ΟΤΑΡΗΗΛΗΓΤΑΛΑ

... ΠΡΟΣΠΟΟΤΚΑΠΑΠΙ...

ΟΗ · ΠΡΕΣΑΠΧΟΚ · ΠΑΙ...

ΕΕΦΠΥΛΠΧΟΧΕΠ

... ΛΗΞΟΠΕΡΟΚΤΚΑΣ

ΠΠΕΠΕΚΟΤΠΡΕΣΒΤΓΕ

ΡΟΣΕΓΤΠΠΕΟΤΟΥ

ΠΑΔΥΑΠΕ

l. 8, ΔΠ or ΟΓΓ, DES R.

l. 11, ΤΚΑΣ or ΤΠΑΣ, DES R., but obviously ΤΑΑΣ is correct.

l. 14, Λ or Α, DES R.

(5.)

+ ΠΑΒΟΚ ΠΟΤΗ

////ΕΚΜΗΑΤΗΑ

ΠΛΑΕΡΙΓΓΙΤΑ[ΠΑ]

ΕΠΟΤΟΤΠΟΡΧΟΤ

ΕΑΤΑΤΑΠΡΟΧ

ΟΟΤ · ΖΗΠΛ

ΟΒΒΙΟ

ΤΗΑΤΑΜΟΝΑΙΣ

ΉΡΑΠΉΕΠΟΝΑ

ΕΤΚΙΟΟΠ

l. 1, ΠΟΤΗ] ΕΞΟΤΗ.

l. 2, I do not know what the third letter is intended for. Possibly [ΕΤ]ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ. Something seems to be missing at the end of the line.

l. 8, Γ should be Ε.

l. 9, DES R. shapes the **ϣ** as though Bohairic. Possibly this is a paper fragment not an ostrakon; but it is strange to find the first part Bohairic and the second Sahidic.

l. 10, ΕΤΚΕΟΟΠ?

(7.)

ΜΗ

ΤΕΝΜΑΑ[ΥΜΑΡΙΑ]

[ΠΕΝΕΙ]ΩΤΑΠΑΕΝ[ΩΧ]

ΜΤΟΝΜΜ[ΟΥ]

[ΔΙΟΣ]ΚΟΡΟ[Α]

ΜΕΣ]ΩΡΗ=ΠΕΝΕ[ΟΝ]

ΨΥΕΝΕΜΨ

1. One Paul writes to "his son Peter" to do him the favour to come and visit him with Joseph and Paul and (?) John.

2. Owing to DES RIVIÈRES' inability to read the writing the meaning is not clear, except an ordinary complimentary beginning, and at the end directions for the receipt of some wine through "our holy fathers Apa Isaac and Elias and Jacob your brother."

3. "1st of Hathor, Indiction 14. I, Isaac son of Paul, the* . . . of the church, write to the godly Apa Hetoimos, monk of the hill of Jeme. The matters of the half solidus behold Sachane (?) fulfilled it for me. Do me the favour of giving solidi to him, half for me half for him; and we will give him wine for you according as we give it yearly: for thou wilt not deny it. Behold, I write to thee. I, thy brother, Calaprión, greet thee. Farewell."

4. The text is only fragmentary. It begins with the request of one Paul to send him a book; and is "sent to our reverend father by the Ethiopian, the magistrate"

5. This appears to be part of a hymn. "I will enter the church (?). I will . . . my feet. My lips opened, and my tongue spake in my humility . . ."

6. Very fragmentary. Little is intelligible, except that some one swears that he did not abuse some one else.

7. Part of a gravestone, possibly of one Dioscorus, though the position of the name would be unusual. For the invocation of Mary and Enoch, compare a stone in the Vatican (MARUCHI, *Cat. Mus. Eg.*, p. 314).

* ΠΥΟΖΑ appears to be a new word. It should literally mean a "single man." The persons here mentioned do not occur in any of the Jeme ostraca, published by CRUM.

THE FOLKLORE OF MOSSOUL.

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, *M.A.**(Continued from p. 288.)*HEBREW TEXT—*continued.*

(66) גְּמִי שֶׁנִּשְׁכַּחוּ נְחִישׁ אוֹ עֶקֶרב אוֹ כֶּלֶב שׁוֹטֵה יִכְתּוּב זֶה הַטֶּלֶסֶם וִירְחִי

[See Plate III, No. 15]

בְּמִים וַיִּשְׁתַּח הַנִּשְׁוֹךְ וְהִי בְּעָה :

(67) לוֹוֹנֵעַ אֶל סִין יִכְתּוּב עָלַי קֶרֶסֶת כּוֹבוֹ וַיֹּאכְלָה עֲלַי מוֹצֵעַ אֶל יוֹוֹנֵעַ

יֹוֹטֵבָא אֲטָא אֲטִיטָא רְפוּאָה אֲטָה אֲטִיטָא רְפוּאָה וְכִטָּא

אֲטִיטָה רְפוּאָה אֲנִס :

(68) לְמִי יִשְׁהוּא בְּבֵית הָאֲסוּרִים יִקַּח ג' בִּיצִים בַּת יוֹמָם מִבוּיִשְׁלִים יָפִים וַיִּקְנוֹף

אוֹתָם וַיִּכְתּוּב עַל כָּל בִּיצָא הַיִּשְׁלוּשָׁה תִּיבוֹת וַיֹּאכֵל הַבִּיצִים וַיֵּצֵא בְּעָה

וַיִּשְׁקִישִׁין וַשְׁקִישִׁין אֲרִבִּין אֲנִס :

(69) לְלַבִּיעַ וּלְיִשְׂרֵי יִטְבְּרוּ לָנוּ מַעֲט אֹכֵל מַעֲט צָרִי וּמַעֲט דְּבִשׁ נִכְאֵת וּלְט

בִּישׁ צָרוֹת יַעֲלֶה יִשְׁכִּירִיה וְכִירִיה הַוִּנְקִי מִגָּאֵן וּלְחֲנִי זֹאת

הַפֶּעַם אוֹדָה לָהּ וְכֵן יִרְבִּיאָוּא וַיִּנְיחוּ בִּידוֹ הַיִּמִּנִית אֲנִס בְּדוֹקָה ע'כ :

(70) מִי יִשְׁאֲבֵד לוֹ אֲבִידָה יִכְתּוּב אֵלֹו הַיִּטְמוֹת וַיִּנְיחַ תַּחַת מְרֹאשׁוֹתָיו וַיִּרְאֶה

הַגִּנֵּב בַּחֲלוֹם אֲחַפֵּר כֶּרֶע קֶרֶן כִּירָג ע'כ :

(71) אַחוּזֹת עֲנִיִּים כִּשְׁתֵּרֹאֶה רּוֹצְחִים בָּאִים אֲמוֹר שִׁטָּה פַּעֲמִים הַשִּׁבְעָה זֹו

אִשְׁבַּעִית עֲלֵיכֶן גְּבָרָא פֶּלֶךְ הַפֶּלְטִי אֵילָא וְעָלִי פֶּלֶךְ יִידָא

גְּדִיאָל הַפֶּד גְּדִיאָל יִשְׁחַכֶּתֶם אֲנִשִּׁי סְדוּם וְעַמּוּרָה בַּסְנוּרִים שְׁתַּכּוּ

הָאֲנִשִּׁים הָאֵלֹו בַּסְנוּרִים יִשְׁלָא יִרְאוּ אוֹתִי וְאֵת כָּל אִשֵּׁר וְאֵת כָּל חֲבֵרְתִּי

וְאֵת כָּל הָאֲנִשִּׁים הָאֵלֶּה יִשְׁלָא הַכִּיתוּ אִשֵּׁר הַכִּית בַּסְנוּרִים כִּךְ אֲמַר

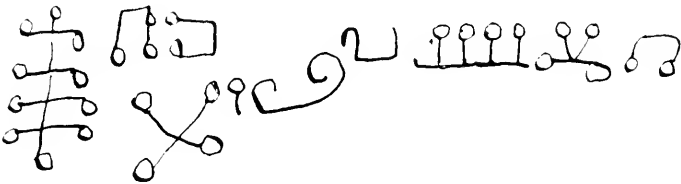
שִׁטָּה פַּעֲמִים לְמַפְרַע וּבַסְדֵּר וְאֵתָה תִּרְאֶה אוֹתָם וְהֵם לֹא יִרְאוּךְ ע'כ :

(72) סְנוּלָה לְפִרְעוּשִׁים קַח קְלִיפַת אֲנֹזָה לָהּ וְתַכְתּוּשׁ אוֹתָהּ וְתֵן בְּתוֹךְ הַמִּים

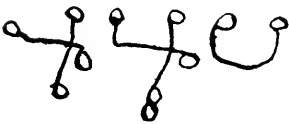
וַיִּשְׁפּוֹךְ עַל הָאֲרֶץ גִּפּ וַיִּמּוֹתוּ כּוֹלָם :



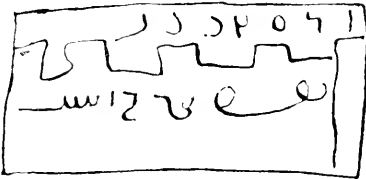
12



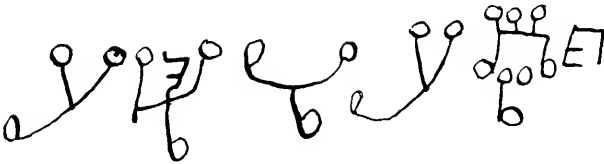
13



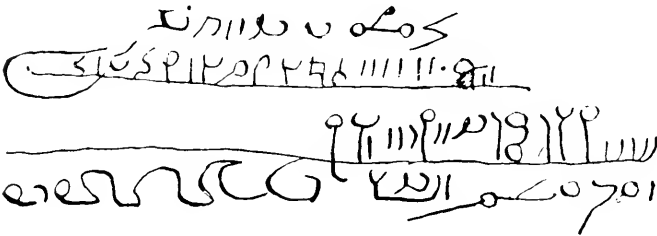
14



15



16



17

ותישמור אותה מכל עינא בישא ישבעולם ומכל נגע ומחלה ישבעולם
ומכל פחד ישבעולם כין ביום כין בלילה אנסו חותם

(82) ע'א יכתוב וימחוק במים בישם אביאל והניאל מצפן מצפן בישם קצמיאל

כנעיאל התריאל דניאל תקיטרו רוחיה ונפשיה וכליותיה יל פ'ב'פ תם
(83) להביא אשה בעל כרחא יכתוב על בגד שלה ויעשה כמו פתילה

וידליק בגד חרס זו הלוישין הלוישין אלוישין אלוישין סרועין
סרועין יתביאו ותכנסו בגוף פ'ב'פ ותצעריו אותה לא תאכל ולא
תשתה ולא תישן עד יתבוא אצלי ותעשה רצוני פ'ב'פ תם

(84) ע'א יתבוא בעל כרחא יכתוב בזעפרן ויתלה לרוח בחלון הבית

בשער ראשה וזמיט' דלוישין דלוישין אלוישין אלוישין סרועין

סרועין אנולו יא אוולאד אל עפרית ואל נאן אקליבו קלב פ'ב'פ
ותוויטעו ראסהא ותשוטעו עקלהא לא יכון עקל פי ראסהא גיר מעי תם

(85) ע'א יכתוב על בגד שלה וישמה וישם אמה וידליק באיש ברוחין

ברוחין ברוחין תם

(86) למי ירדצה יתחלום אי זה אשה ירדצה ישוכבת עמו והוא ישוכב עמה

ויחלמו שניהם ישם נזקקים יכתוב אלו השמות על ידו בשעת שיכבה

ויכתוב ישמו וישמה תחת ישמו יכתוב בראבן ותחת ישמה טפאטן

ויישן ויחלום : עכ

(87) סגולה להכניס מחט בבשרו יאמר מישיבי אני עליכם מחט ישרא תכאיב

אותי ולא תוציא מימי טפת דם בישם ברב וכישתכנישו תומאר ססו

עכ וכו עכ וכו :

(88) לאהבה כתוב ותשלך באיש בישם והיל יקדרתא בליבא מאע

שתתנו אהבת פ'ב'פ בלב פ'ב'פ שלא יישן לא ביום ולא בלילה ולא

ידבר עם שום אדם לא בשוק ולא בבית אלא בעין אהבת פ'ב'פ בישם

אתסותם איקנסו אמנסו אתון מלאכי שלמא ואהבה וחנא וחסדא

תפילו בליב פ'ב'פ אנס אנס אנס תם עכ תם וכו תם

עכ תם וכו

(89) ע'א כתוב על נייר מדהנוני נתרני יתרע בפא יתר עלם אות

נשים עפיל מועיל עניאל בישם אלו השימות תתנו אהבת פ'ב'פ

בעיני פ'ב'פ אמן נסה ותתין אותה לשתות וזה ברוק ומנוסה עכ .:

(90) אבסלים אבסלים האנא הלאל אל ענל ואל ענל יא אחמר אנל פי
גסר פ'ב'פ' אקסמת עליך יא אחמר ברב אל סמאווות ואל ארין טאייק
אל כביר אל סמיע אל בציר אקסמת עליך יא אחמר בנבראל ומיכאל
ואסמפאל ועזאוראל וכן הוא פי אל סמא ופי אל ארין אתי טועאי
אופכחא ולא ארצל עליך סופאן מן נאר ונחאס אמין אמין :

(91) בצאתך לדרך זכור רגראל ותנצל מכל פגע רע תם

* * * * *

(92) לאהבה כ' על נייר ועשהו פתילה ושרוף הניר בנר בשמן שומשמיני
וזמ'ט מא'ע באל רחום וחנן שהוא מושל בנאות הים שתשרפו את

לב פ'ב'פ' לאהבת פ'ב'פ' בזכות אלו השימוות [See Plate III, No. 17]

(93) לקישור אדם על אשתו כתוב אלו השימוות על נייר וקבור אותם בין

שתי ספרות בשם שפריאל עזריאל גבריאל שריקאל שתקשרו

ותאסרו את פ'ב'פ' שלא יכול לטמיט עם אשתו פ'ב'פ' של שיד

עירת ועסגיתת וכורה ותת וררגית קשרו ל'ט' ואסרו אלא

פ'ב'פ' וכל בר איש לא ייש לא רשית שיתיר ליה מקשירית עד שאני

אתירו ולא יהיה לו חשק על פ'ב'פ' אסרו וקשרו יתיה אגס תם בנ'ב

(94) להתיר קישור יב' שמו ושם אמו על נייר ויולך עמו הניר ויתלה

בצווארו וז'ט ה'א ה'ות נפתל נפתל קראת קראת מך יתן

בט' לוב נטל ובכל טוב מן מן מן פנר קנף קנף תור תור

בזכות אלו השימוות שתתירו כל גידים של פ'ב'פ' על פ'ב'פ' אנכ' :

(95) ע'א יב' על נייר וימחוק במים וישתו האיש והאשה וז'ט מתלחלה

ומתלחלה מתלחלה אנס

(96) ע'א יב' אלו החותמות בחצי היום ישעת אדאן של נזיים וירחין בתוך

המים ואלו הן [See Plate IV, No. 18]

(97) קבון יסידים יכתב בל מרי ד הוא נור אלסמאווות ולארין ובעדא

יקרא ו בראת הל עזימא

עזמיתו עלייכא איז אלמלך אלסעיד בי ד אלדי לא אילה אלה הוא

אכבר מן תלבר ואעלם מן תלבר אלדי כלק נמיע אל איטייה

ביקורתתי ומיזחום ביחובמתתי ולסמאוותי ולאדצי ביקבצתתי אקבמתו

עלייכא יא מימזי אלאגבר ביקאף ומא'הוא ולעריט אלדי עלי אסתאי היה

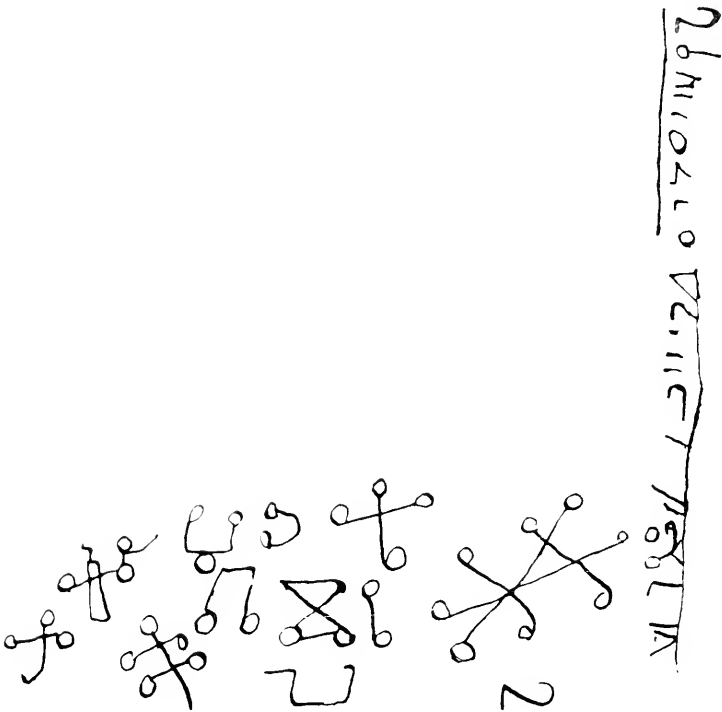
היה היה אדוני אלטברון חמקום מייטויט מרקוש טייה טייה אכמא

רב אל אעלא תם :

והל חותמות יכתב ויכלי בינביו אל בנת [See Plate IV, No. 19]



18



19

TRANSLATION—*continued*.

No. 66. *For one whom a snake or scorpion or mad dog hath bitten*.—Let him write this talisman and wash it off in water, and let the bitten man drink it and live by God's help (*see* Plate III, No. 15).

No. 67. *For toothache*.—Let him write on a cake of bread, and eat it on the place of the pain: "Yuṣma Aṭa Aṭiṭa Rpuah Aṭa Aṭiṭa Rpuah Wmṭa Aṭiṭh Rpuah."

No. 68. *For one that is in prison*.—Let him take three eggs laid that day, well boiled, and shell them and write on each egg the three words, and eat the eggs, and he shall go forth, by God's help: "Wiṣṣiun Wṣṣiun Arnin."

No. 69. *For commerce*.—Break for us (?) a little food, a little balm, a little refined (?) honey, and mastix in six lots, "Šamariah Zamariah hunḳi mgan w'lhnyi, now I praise thee, O God, and to Yrmiaua," and let him put it in his right hand. Proved.

No. 70. *For one from whom something has been lost*.—Let him write these names and put them under his pillow, and he will see the thief in a dream: "Aḥpr Kr' Ḳrn Mrg."

No. 71. *For blindness when thou seest murderers coming*.—Say six times this oath: "I adjure you Nibara Pelek H'phaliṭi Elia Wa'lay Pelek Yida Nadiel Hephad Nadiel, that smote the men of Sodom and Gomorrah with blindness, that ye smite these men with blindness, that they see me not, nor that which is (with me), nor all my company nor all these men which thou hast not smitten, which thou hast smitten with blindness." Thus say six times in succession and in order, and thou shalt see them, but they shall not see thee.

No. 72. *Remedy for fleas*.—Take the green husk of a walnut and break it and put it in water, and pour it on the earth three times, and all of them shall die.

No. 73. *To dry up a river*.—Let him write this name in purity on a stone from the same water, and let him cast the stone into the water. And he shall write this on the Sabbath: (*see* Text).

No. 74. *To see without being seen* (from Rabbi Mosheh bar Naḥman, may his memory be for a blessing!).—Write these names on gazelle-skin: "Yeišteb Ia Agareun," and put it in a dish or glass

lamp full of oil which thou shalt burn and not spill any, and at the end of three days thou shalt find therein a ring, and thou shalt wear it on thy finger, and shalt see without being seen. Proved and certain.

No. 75. *To bring work to nought*.—Take eight strands from a horse's tail and tie them (together) and read over them once: "In the name of Znni Maimum Ttraši Wtr Awwro Brtiki Aminun Smpti Znni Brnini—Descend, ye holy angels, by the power of your names and by the power of your purity, (I adjure you) that ye bind the hand of N., son of N., from his work speedily."

No. 76. Bring a boy about eight or nine years old and put into his hand a glass bowl full of water, and say three times: "I invoke you, Kantranael Moza'a'iel, enter and come into this bowl of water and appear to this boy." Then ask the boy if they have come, and if not, let him (*sic*) invoke them again, after this fashion, until they have come, and then let him say: "I am seeking from you Šansiel Pethachiel Šakariel."

No. 77. *For love*.—Write and put in the fire: "Alp Šulb Nin w"Alkom Apkša' Bal in the heart of N., daughter of N., for love of N., son of N., like the love of Sarah in the eyes of Abraham."

No. 78. *Another*.—Thou shalt fashion parchment after the fashion of male and female; on the picture of (the) female write: "Bla Bla Bla Lhb Lhb Lhb Hbl Hbl Hbl"; and on the other write: "Zkr Zkr Rkz Rkz Rkz Rkz Kzr," and thou shalt put them together, front and back, and thou shalt put them in the fire.

No. 79. *Another*. (Omitted.)

No. 80. *Another*.—Write on a linen rag the name of N., son of N., Ahabiel, Šalhabiel, Ophiel, in very truth, (for) need, love, desire, heat, warmth, attachment, in the heart of N., son of N., if asleep, announce it, and if sitting up (?) bring him and fire him with desire, and need, and love (*see* Plate III, No. 16).

No. 81. . . . "The will be (?) before thee, O Lord, my God, and God of my fathers, by the holiness of the Law and the holiness of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that thou givest conception to N., daughter of N., for male children of the covenant; by the holiness of "the Lord bless thee and watch over thee like children, Amen,

so be it" . . . and shall keep her from every Evil Eye in the world, and from plague, and from sickness in the world, and from all fear in the world both by day and by night."

No. 82. *Another*.—Let him write and wash off in water: "In the name of Abiel Haniel Mšpn Mšpn, in the name of Kašmiel Kana'iel Hathariel Daniel, that ye bind the spirit, and soul, and kidneys of N., son of N."

No. 83. *To bring a disdainful woman*.—Let him write on one of her garments and make a wick of it, and burn it in a pottery lamp: this (is it) "Halošin Halošin Alošin Alošin Sru'in Sru'in, that ye come and assemble in the body of N., daughter of N., and harass her that she eat not, drink not, nor sleep not, until she come near me and do the pleasure of me N., son of N."

No. 84. *Another, that a disdainful woman should come*.—Let him write in saffron and hang it up to the wind in the window of the house by a hair of her head, and this is what he shall write: "Dlušin Dlušin Alušin Alušin Sru'in Sru'in, descend, ye children of the Afarīt and Jân, and turn the heart of N., daughter of N., and confuse her brain, and trouble her thoughts, that there be no thought in her head except for me."

No. 85. *Another*.—Let him write (this) on one of her garments, and her name and that of her mother, and burn it in fire: "Bruḥin Bruḥin Bruḥin."

No. 86. *For whomsoever wisheth to dream*. (Omitted.)

No. 87. *Prescription for putting a needle in his flesh*.—Let him say: "I adjure you, O needle, that thou pain me not, nor bring out of me a drop of blood, in the name of Bub," and when thou putttest it in thou shalt say, "Ssu."

No. 88. *For love*.—Write, and cast into fire: "In the name of Whil Ykidta Bliba I invoke you to put love for N., son of N., in the heart of N., daughter of N., that he (*sic*) sleep not neither by day or night, nor shall he speak with any man either in the street or in the house, except with relation to love for N., son of N., in the name of Atsutm Iḳnos Amnos, ye angels of peace and love and grace and favour, bring down [love] into the heart of N., daughter of N."

No. 89. *Another*.—Write on parchment “Ndhnuni Ntrni Ytr’a Bpa Yfr ‘Alm Oṭ Nkim ‘Amil Mo’il ‘Aniel; in the name of these names, ye shall put love for N., son of N., in the eyes of N., daughter of N., Amen.” Proved. And thou shalt give it (to her) to drink. And this is proved and certain.

No. 90. *A charm*.—“Absalis, Absalis, this night speedily, speedily O Ahmar, descend into the body of N., son of N.; I invoke thee, O Ahmar, by the Lord of heaven and earth, the powerful, the mighty, the hearing, the understanding—I invoke thee, O Ahmar, by Nabariel, Michael, Asmaphiel, and Azariel (?), and whoever is in heaven or on earth, come spontaneously. Conciliate her and I will not send against thee touchwood of fire and brass. Amen, Amen.”

No. 91. When thou goest forth on a journey, remember Rgiel, and thou shalt be guarded from all evil accident.

No. 92. *For love*.—Write on parchment and make it into a wick, and burn the parchment in a lamp with oil of sesame, and this is what thou shalt write: “I invoke you by the merciful and gracious God, that ruleth the creatures of the sea, that ye should burn the heart of N., daughter of N., with love for N., son of N., by the holiness of these names” (see Plate III, No. 17).

93. *To bind a man against his wife*.—Write these names on parchment and bury them between two graves: “In the name of Šaphriel ‘Azriel Gabriel Šerikiel, that ye bind and fetter N., son of N., that he be not able to have union with his wife N., daughter of N., Šl Šid ‘Irt W’asgitt Wswrh Wtr Wrrgit, bind and fetter N., son of N.; and let no man have power to unloose him from the bond until I loose it myself, and he shall feel no love towards N., daughter of N.; bind and fetter him.”

No. 94. *To loosen a bond*.—Let him write his name and the name of his mother on parchment, and let him carry the parchment on his person and hang it round his neck. And this is what he shall write: “Hu Hut Nptl Nptl Kṛat Kṛat Mk Ytun Kṭ Lub Nṭl Ubkl Ṭob Mn Mn Mnr Pnr Kṣp Kṣp Tor Tor—by the purity of these names, (I adjure you) that ye loose all limbs of N., son of N., towards N., daughter of N.”

No. 95. *Another*.—Let him write on parchment, and wash it off in water, and let the man and woman drink it. And this is what he shall write:—“Mithlahlah Mithlahlah Mithlahlah.”

No. 96. *Another*.—Let him write these names at mid-day at the hour of the time of . . . , and let him wash them off in water ; and these are they : (*see* Plate IV, No. 18).

No. 97. *To summon demons*.—Let him write in gall (?) “ $\bar{\text{C}}$ he is the light of the heavens and the earth,” and then let him read seven times this invocation : “I invoke thee, O blessed King by $\bar{\text{C}}$, there is no god but he, greater than thou art great, wiser than thou art powerful, who created all things by his power, and their species by his wisdom, and the heavens and the earth by his might ; I invoke thee, O Maimun, most powerful, by the mountain of $\text{K}\hat{\text{a}}\text{l}$ and Mahu(?) and the throne which is on the porch(?) Hyh Hyh Hyh, the constant Lord, $\text{H}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}\text{k}\text{o}\text{s}$ $\text{M}\bar{\text{a}}\text{i}\text{t}\text{o}\text{s}$ $\text{M}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{k}\text{o}\text{s}$ $\text{T}\bar{\text{a}}\text{i}\text{h}$ $\text{T}\bar{\text{a}}\text{i}\text{h}$ $\text{T}\bar{\text{a}}\text{i}\text{h}$, the Name, the most high Lord.” And these signs let him write and place on the forehead of the girl (*see* Plate IV, No. 19).

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, January 15th, 1908, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

F. Legge, Esq. : "The Names of the Thinite Kings."





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